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Contents

EDITORIAL PARAGRAPHS 463

EDITORIALS:
- Philander C. Knox 466
- The Railway Strike 467
- Is Business Improving? 467
- The Judgment of Solomon 468

THE FISCAL *PONS ASINORUM*. By Henry Raymond Mussey 469

THE RISE OF JAPANESE LABOR CONSCIOUSNESS. By Frank Godwin 470

GOOD MEN. By John Haynes Holmes 473

BURGENLAND—A PAWN ON THE CHESS BOARD. By Henry G. Alsberg 474

IN THE DRIFTWAY. By the Drifter 475

CORRESPONDENCE 475

THE ARBITRATOR:
- Can Liberals Unite? 478
- A Correction 479

BOOKS:
- Three Soldiers. By Three Other Soldiers 480
- Women of Wit. By Mark Van Doren 481
- Political Metaphysic. By Charles A. Beard 482
- Artists and Business Men. By Holger Cahill 483
- Books in Brief 483

DRAMA:
- Pity and Terror. By Ludwig Lewisohn 484

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SECTION:
- Siberia and the Arms Conference 485
- Soviet Russia's Protest 485
- The Position of the United States 486
- The New Order in Mongolia 486
- Gold in the Far East 488

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MR. HOOVER let his darling child, the handpicked Unemployment Conference, march right up to hang its clothes on the hickory limb, but never did he let it go near the water wherein no man knows how many jobless Americans are likely to perish before the winter is over. Which is to say that the Unemployed Conference was debarred at the very beginning from considering unemployment insurance or any scheme of government doles, to say nothing of more radical measures. Its zeal for minimizing the extent of unemployment makes one suspect the accuracy of its figures which purport to show that it is necessary to provide emergency help of some sort for "only one fifth" of the unemployed, that is, not more than 1,000,000 men. The conference from which all radicals were carefully excluded, achieved a formal unity by the simple device of not passing as a whole on committee reports when there was a difference of opinion between Mr. Gompers and the employers. Nevertheless it doubtless did something to increase the amount of money to be spent on immediate construction of useful public works and it left behind a kind of clearing house under the direction of that able executive Colonel Arthur Woods. On the whole, the Conference gave the employers one more chance to make good their boast that they can manage all the problems of our modern industrial order if only they are let alone.

IT is not only the railroads which have adopted the plan which the New York *World* rightly calls "putting the whole burden on labor." Consider the Standard Oil Company and the Steel Corporation. Both have won some praise by announcing substantial additions to their plants to be constructed so far as possible by their own men who would otherwise be unemployed. But the Standard gets the $2,000,000 it is to spend at Bayonne by dropping the bonus paid until recently to its workers. And the Steel Trust gets its $10,000,000 by a 30 per cent wage cut recently put into effect. According to figures presented to the Unemployment Conference the wages of the steel laborers have risen fifty points since 1913, while the cost of living has risen eighty. And these are the men who are paying the bills for the companies' efforts to relieve unemployment. Yet not they but the companies will own the new factories that are to be built.

TWO recent events in the labor world are of more than usual significance. The first is the announcement of the successful federation of various independent unions among the textile workers. The industrial revolution began in the manufacture of textiles and from that day to this the condition of textile workers and their scale of wages have left a great deal to be desired. In America the field has been largely unorganized. The orthodox A. F. of L. body, the United Textile Workers, has seemed to the mass of the workers neither aggressive nor resolute in pushing their interests. The I. W. W. has staged some dramatic strikes but has failed to organize effectively. Hence the multitude of independent unions of which the Amalgamated was the strongest. This new federation, which it is hoped the United Textile Workers will join, ought to prepare the way for effective organization even in the South where conditions are worst. The other bit of labor news is less encouraging. President Lewis of the United Mine Workers has deposed Alexander Howat, president of the Kansas miners. The reason he alleges is Howat's support of a strike said to violate an agreement with the employers. We are sympathetic with every effort to maintain good faith in labor organizations, but it is to be feared that Mr. Lewis is less inspired by morals than by jealousy of a rival who has proved more courageous in standing for the workers' rights. Whatever his faults, Mr. Howat has had a sure instinct for real justice in fighting the Kansas industrial court as an unfair and impossible device for ending the industrial conflict. The very strike which at present prevails is not directed against the operators but against the court itself. This open war among the mine workers, whoever may be to blame, is one more evidence of a disquieting disintegration in labor ranks at a time when the anti-union campaign is at its height.

THE Massachusetts Minimum Wage Commission has handed down a decision of large implications. It has decided that, although the least amount of money a woman can live on and retain her health with no one dependent upon her is $13.50 a week, the women workers in the "minor

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candies" industry shall receive $12. This decision is based on a consideration of the state of the industry, which leads the commissioners to believe that it could pay no higher wage and yet survive. But what of the odd $1.50? As the $13.50 budget stands it takes no account whatever of possible dependents, allows but 20 cents a week for laundry, 25 cents for "incidentals," and a 30-cent reserve for emergencies—very modest, unpretentious emergencies we must assume. What with $1.50 a week less than this is a self-respecting woman worker in the candy industry to do? The answer is tragically easy. She will do what the workers, men and women, in almost every industry in the country are doing—live on less than the least possible amount necessary to health and decency, support children on the bitter edge of starvation, make of the much-advertised "American standard" a gloomy jest. But "the industry cannot pay more and live."

ONE bit of evidence before the Senatorial Commission inquiring into the American Occupation of Haiti and Santo Domingo, deserves preservation in the consciousness of all those strong-arm-chair patriots, newspaper editorial writers, believers in "manifest destiny," Nordicists, and the others who demand that the United States intervene anywhere and everywhere, but especially in weaker countries, when an American life is taken or even an American corn trod upon. It is not our purpose to discuss this thesis here, but merely to quote some official testimony:

> The Chairman (Senator McCormick)—What specific instances to your knowledge were there, either in the Vilbrun Guillaume Sam Revolution or others, of injury to the property of foreigners or loss of life by foreigners at the hands of the revolutionists? Can you tell of any case where a foreigner was killed by the Revolutionary or Government forces, or whether property was destroyed?
>
> Admiral Caperton—I do not believe that I could, sir. You must understand that foreigners were not allowed to own property [land] by the Constitution.
>
> The Chairman—Do you know of any case where any of them were ever killed?
>
> Admiral Caperton—I do not know that I can recall now, sir.

Neither now nor at any other time! Admiral Caperton commanded the forces which seized Haiti. Admiral Caperton it was who, two weeks previous to the brief revolutionary disturbance of July 27, 1915, at Port-au-Prince, had already landed troops at Cap Haitien at the other end of the island; who, acting under orders which will make interesting reading in the near future, then occupied Port-au-Prince and overthrew the established government of the Haitian Republic. If there is anyone who should be acquainted with any possible record of violence against foreigners and particularly against Americans, it is Admiral Caperton. He recalls none because there was none.

THAT committee appointed by the League of Nations to study methods of "helping" Russia in her hour of famine need—the same committee headed by the old anti-soviet conspirator and French ex-ambassador, M. Noulens, which first suggested sending a commission of twenty-odd men to tour the starving regions and investigate—has now decided, according to press reports, that relief for Russia is impossible until she agrees to pay the debts contracted by the Czar. The Revolution of 1905 was stifled and the promises of democracy once exacted from the Czar were violated with the aid of those very French millions which this most Christian commission now insists that the hungry Russians must pay. Many of our American States defaulted their debts some decades ago; France, like England, is some hundreds of millions of dollars in arrears on her debts to the United States—but no lean Russian baby is to be fattened with French milk until the old debts are recognized. May France never suffer famine in her turn; and if she does, may the world be too compassionate to turn her own logic to her own starvation.

IF we are going to copy and improve upon the European custom of putting men in jail for their political and economic opinions we ought also to imitate the Europeans in giving political prisoners privileges not accorded to felons, among others the right to be candidates for public office. The denial of the latter right means the disfranchising of many citizens and an interference with the ballot as a means of ascertaining the popular will. These reflections are prompted by the action of the New York Board of Elections in removing from the municipal ballot the names of Messrs. Gitlow and Winitsky, nominated by the Workers' League. The technical reason given was that the address of these gentlemen was given as Ossining (Sing Sing), whereas they are required to be residents of New York City. New petitions are to be filed claiming legal residence for these political prisoners in New York City. It is to be hoped that the new petitions will be accepted. The best way to advance radicalism of the extreme left is to prove that there is no chance for radical points of view to find expression at the polls.

THE plan of the new Transit Commission for the reorganization of the transportation lines of New York City is drawing that heavy fire of criticism for which its chairman, Mr. George McAneny, asked in putting forth what was avowedly a preliminary plan subject to alteration in details. Mr. Samuel Untermyer and Comptroller Craig have made the most effective points against the scheme thus far, but Mr. McAneny has already countered upon Mr. Untermyer by declaring that his lawyers stamp as unconstitutional Mr. Untermyer's proposal that the city maintain a five-cent fare as a matter of social utility even if it involves a temporary deficit. As we pointed out everything depends upon the fairness of the coming valuation of the roads, and on this score the city's interests appear to need more careful protection than the first draft of the plan affords. The companies should not be forgiven overdue taxes and debts to the city, they should not have so large a voice in management under the new regime, and certainly the operators rather than the bondholders should receive whatever extra compensation may be allowed as an inducement for efficient service. The barometer plan for determining cost of service, and hence the size of fares, has not worked well in other cities and we must again urge the high importance of direct labor representation on the board of control. But it is a striking fact that no one has yet challenged the principle of municipal ownership; the only question is whether the city will be sufficiently safeguarded and adequate service secured.

IN all probability Mr. Newberry of Michigan will hold his seat in the Senate because he is a Republican and so is the majority of the committee which investigated his case. He was convicted, it will be remembered, before a United States court of violating the Corrupt Practices Act by his huge expenditure in the Republican primaries and is in the Senate now instead of in jail only because the

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Supreme Court ruled that Congress had no power to regulate primary elections. The argument of the Democratic minority that his seat should be declared vacant is entirely sound, but it is a safe guess that if Mr. Newberry had been a Democrat the opinions of majority and minority of the committee would have been exactly reversed. In New York State the Democratic convention is eloquent on the sins of the Republican State administration and in New York City the Republican-controlled Meyer committee is at last showing up not only incompetence but something very close to corruption. But when its counsel ex-Senator Elon R. Brown thunders condemnation of police officials who "cannot watch criminals and the ticker at the same time" the public is little moved. Perhaps it remembers his own life-long subservience to reaction, and the easy conscience of his close associate Lusk with his one hundred and fifty-three pieces of silver. Yet it is always possible to hope that when as a result of these mutual recriminations it dawns upon a considerable number of Americans that there is something woefully lacking in a system of "democracy" which gives them only the choice between the pot and the kettle, they may be moved to look a little more deeply into the cause and cure of our present political government.

YOU ARE CORDIALLY INVITED TO ATTEND
THE EXECUTION OF
NICHAN MARTIN
SEPTEMBER 9, 1921, 5:00 A. M.
AT THE
ARIZONA STATE PRISON
FLORENCE, ARIZONA
THOS. H. RYNNING, Supt.

WE gather from the Arizona *Labor Journal*, which reprinted the foregoing invitation, that a "good time was enjoyed by all." And such is the zest of certain Americans for this form of Roman holiday that they cannot wait for legal hangings; they have to arrange unofficial burnings at the stake. From Texas we learn that on October 11 "several hundred persons witnessed the burning" of a Negro youth of nineteen years. Everything was orderly and all evidence of the affair was promptly removed—perhaps by the curio hunters. The crimes charged against the victims of these popular holidays were heinous (the charge against the Negro was, of course, not proved) but no individual guilt can be as socially disastrous as the morbid crowd psychology which makes entertainment out of executions.

IN Cleveland, Ohio, the manufacture of women's clothing is conducted under a "continuing agreement" between the Manufacturers' Association and the International Ladies' Garment Workers. The agreement provides for reference of controversies to a Board of Referees composed of Judge Julian W. Mack, Samuel Rosensohn, and John R. McLane. These referees decided that the firm of John Meyer and Son had not conformed to wage standards and therefore should not be employed for certain manufacturing work by the Landesman-Hirscheimer Company, one of the parties to the continuing agreement. Meyer went into court and secured an injunction whose net effect, if sustained, will be to disrupt the "continuing agreement" which has meant so much for peace and well-being in what had been a sweat-shop industry. The most extraordinary feature of the decision was its discrimination between the defendants in the assessment of damages. Manufacturers' Association, Ladies' Garment Workers, and referees were all parties to the conspiracy of which the plaintiff complained, but the court ruled that only the union should be responsible for damages. It argued that the manufacturers acted as they did "under compulsion," and the referees were "men of high standing, well known as to their ability and integrity," whose errors were honestly made, but the union whose contention the referees upheld was possessed of a purpose which was "unwise, unfair, and unjust," and so ought to pay damages. Could there be better evidence of the degree in which courts are class conscious in their use of the injunction against labor?

NEVER have our fanciful citizenship laws been made to appear more grotesque than in a recent decision of Justice Finch of the New York Supreme Court. Since the law proclaims that any woman eligible for citizenship becomes a citizen by the admission of her husband to that status, the court has insisted upon an oath of allegiance from the wife of the applicant. But along comes Mr. Maier, a Russian jeweler, who wants to achieve citizenship and is amply eligible for it in his own person, but who is the uncomfortable husband of an anarchist wife who refuses to take an oath of allegiance to any government. Since the act of making him a citizen would automatically include his wife, the court, with statesmanlike caution, withholds it, and poor Mr. Maier, who is no anarchist but an honest, God-fearing jeweler, is kept with her in outer and alien darkness. As the result of this ludicrous perversion of justice it may occur to some of our law-makers that the law should be so framed that no woman would either receive or lose her citizenship on account of marriage.

JUST when President Harding was assuring his correspondent, Mrs. Fried, that it was not possible to do much disarming without a "revolutionary organization" of "human nature" for which as a good Republican he could not consider this a "hopeful time," his ambassador, Mr. Child, was preaching a different sermon to the Italians. "It is a mistake," said he, "to believe the weight of useless armament, of taxes, and of waste will be tolerated forever by the people of the various nations." And still worse follows. Not human nature, it appears, but imperialism leads men to burden themselves with armaments. "The voice that says openly, or whispers in secret, that the limitation of armament is not practical is the voice of imperialism." This will never do. President Harding will have to send Mr. Child a copy of his collected works on "Don't expect much and you won't be disappointed." Evidently this Child is another *enfant terrible* in the diplomatic corps.

THE New York Board of Education is up to the good old game of finding out whether the textbooks in history used by the schools of the city are adequately loyal. And now explains the District Superintendent that the question is not "whether the statements made in the textbooks are true but whether propriety would be observed if they were included in them."

Said a man who was saving society
With patriotism and piety:
"It isn't the truth
We need for our youth
So much as emphatic propriety."

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Philander C. Knox

STRANGE it seems that all liberal forces must mourn the death of Philander C. Knox as a genuine blow to the progress of the country! For Mr. Knox was, like Mr. Root and Mr. Spooner and many another lawyer-leader of the Republicans, a product of Big Business. His wits were sharpened in their workshops, his experience acquired over their briefs. They counted him their own when he entered McKinley's Cabinet and later rejoiced that he was to be a "steadying influence" when the "wild man," Roosevelt, came to Presidential power by the accident of an assassin's shot. But when Mr. Knox took the oath of office it was no form with him; soon his old associates were gnashing their teeth over his "betrayal" of those who "had made him"; he began vigorous attacks upon large corporations in the Northern Securities case, the Beef Trust prosecutions, and the Standard Oil trials; and he justified Roosevelt's faith that his Attorney General was, by reason of his intimate knowledge of large corporations, just the one to bring them to book.

Still more puzzling from the liberal's point of view was Mr. Knox's career as Secretary of State. First he proclaimed the era of "dollar diplomacy" by which the foreign policies of the Government were to be subordinated to helping the business man to make money abroad, than which no policy is of greater danger to the peace of the world or the sanctity of weak or backward nations. To it may well be applied the words of Adam Smith in denouncing a British proposal to found a great empire for the sole purpose of raising up a people of customers: "a project altogether unfit for a nation of shopkeepers, but extremely fit for a nation whose government is influenced by shopkeepers." But while Mr. Knox was setting this mischief afoot he was also responsible for an American President's taking "the world's greatest step toward universal peace through the French and British arbitration treaties." Under his incumbency of the office of Secretary of State there were, according to his own words, "more resorts to arbitration and more peaceful settlements of just claims and more brushing away of misunderstandings than seem to have occurred in any other corresponding period." More than that, at the very time when he was responsible for our improper and unworthy financial and political intervention in Honduras and Nicaragua he was urging the establishment by the great Powers of an international court of arbitral justice at The Hague with jurisdiction over nearly all questions between nations.

His business training was thus not wholly able to interfere with an inborn idealism which manifested itself most strikingly in the fight against the Treaty of Versailles, now proved economically as unsound and disastrous as morally it was vicious and revengeful and at the doors of which must be laid the threatening approach of European bankruptcy and disaster. The drafter of the Senatorial round robin which correctly served notice on Woodrow Wilson in February, 1919, that the treaty would never be ratified if intertwined with the Covenant of the League of Nations, Mr. Knox was one of the three or four men to whom belongs the chief credit of having kept the United States from the dishonor of ratifying a treaty which history will surely record as the self-inflicted defeat of the Allies, and one of the greatest disasters to humanity. Mr. Knox's legal skill, his parliamentary experience, his natural acumen and ability, the power of his speeches, all contributed enormously to the result of what seemed at first a hopeless fight against impossible odds. Probably no liberal could have accomplished as much in some directions. Certainly it made the business and political world take notice to find a rich conservative like Philander C. Knox voicing sentiments that came also from such "flighty" Senators as McCormick, Reed, La Follette, Johnson, and Borah, and were so singularly like those advanced by such dangerously radical journals as *The Nation* and the *New Republic*, albeit from a different point of view.

What gave Mr. Knox even greater power was his ability to formulate constructive suggestions. His opposition was not merely opposition; he had alternatives. It is now permissible for *The Nation* to say that the constructive plan for an alternative to the League of Nations, published in our issue of November 17, 1920, was, save in one or two respects, identical with a memorandum prepared by Mr. Knox and held in reserve by him for use at a future time. It is because he could see through the falsities and shams of the current international propaganda, because he favored immediate and complete disarmament, because he believed that a real international court needed no army or navy to support it, because he wanted to go to the rescue of Haiti and Santo Domingo, because he had a vision of a better and wiser world with the sins of the old diplomats banished from it, that every sane liberal, and every radical too, must mourn his loss as one the country cannot afford to sustain at this grave hour.

The disappearance from the Senate of such an intellect, even if it had been in opposition to all modern ideas, would in itself have been a blow, so few are now the Senators of intellectual distinction and ability. Mr. Borah henceforth will rank more clearly as the soundest lawyer, the clearest sighted statesman, and the most constructive force in the Senate. There was a time when he failed to face issues; now he meets them squarely, with tireless industry, planning far ahead and often well behind the scenes. Few others deserve a place in his class. One by one, Lodge, Penrose, Smoot, and the others of the Old Guard are slipping from their places; the new economic and social problems are beyond them. Others of whom more was to be expected have lost ground in the last two years, or but held their own. The great pack of Wadsworths, Underwoods, Pomerenes, Keyeses hunt with the party hounds and run with the popular hares. Promising men there are like Kenyon, Ladd, and France, but in the main only a head rises above the mass. Only a few have at once such a mastery of any subject as La Follette has of the railroad situation, or his unquestioned honesty and indubitable public fidelity. It is a fact that the war has produced no such new leaders as it must have done if all its false but grandiloquent slogans had been true. Had it been a war to preserve democracy, to safeguard human liberty, to protect the small and unsafe nations, there must have been some new shining figures to emerge. Instead we mourn a giant fallen, one who was not really a liberal but could see true on certain foreign subjects; who was neither a genius nor a man of great talent, but one who trained and used well the brains nature bestowed upon him. It is to the economic struggles of the immediate future that we must look for the forging of the new leadership of power and distinction, courage and constructive ability, nowhere more sorely needed than in these United States.

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The Railway Strike

A NATION-WIDE railroad strike would be a public calamity, but a rigorously organized industrial feudalism resting on a very literal wage slavery and controlled by a few financiers would be an even worse calamity. Fortunately, we are not as yet confronted with a choice between such alternatives. The railroads precipitated the present crisis. On Friday, October 14, they applied for permission to make a further cut of ten per cent in wages. They have also attempted to break down the various working rules heretofore in force. President Stone of the engineers declares explicitly that it was these conditions rather than wage cuts previously authorized which led to the strike call. The public representatives of the Labor Board also say that despite the strike vote "until Friday there was but little if any danger" of an actual walkout. Even now the strike can be settled, according to Mr. Stone's statement, either by the railway executives' withdrawal of their request for further reduction of ten per cent and the restoration of favorable working conditions, or by the Government's taking over the railroads.

Surely with labor in this frame of mind conciliatory counsels can avert the disaster of the strike. The menacing features are these: 1. The attitude of the roads, many of which are determined to force the fighting not only for further cuts but in order utterly to break the unions. This is the avowed policy of General Atterbury of the Pennsylvania Railroad, who has not only defied an order of the Railway Labor Board but admitted on the witness stand that his road maintained an elaborate system of espionage and its own police forces. In view of their own attitude toward Government regulation as well as of the facts leading up to the strike call, it is anything but ingenuous for the roads to call this a strike against the Government.

2. The attitude of the press, largely controlled by big business interests, which has already jumped into the fight on the employers' side, thereby serving a class and not a public interest. The average American will do well to remember how completely the press misrepresented the real situation in the steel strike. Let the papers give us the real truth about railroad wages and finances.

3. The attitude of labor itself, which has been divided in counsel and lacking in vision. The railway men ought to have been steadily advocating the constructive principles underlying the Plumb Plan and demonstrating the failure of the Esch-Cummins Law. Instead they have been absorbed with their own quarrels which came to a head in the so-called outlaw strike, and have apparently fought only for wages. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to think that the railway workers are fighting a wholly selfish battle. Whether they fully realize it or not, they are fighting for the American standard of living which, as we pointed out in a recent editorial, is steadily declining. Economic problems in this post-war period are grave. But they cannot be solved by passing the burdens of deflation to the shoulders of the farmers and workers. If the railroad directors can do what their allies the steel directors have done, and completely defeat labor, we are in for a period of the most powerful industrial autocracy the world has ever seen. The end of that kind of autocracy will be violent revolution. Better for all of us to endure even the calamities of a railroad strike than to face such a fate.

Is Business Improving?

UNDOUBTEDLY there has been a slight, very slight, business improvement. For one thing, Wall Street has once more learned its lesson; its mad after-the-war speculation is at last at an end. The executives of great corporations are themselves beginning to work with that diligence and good sense which they have so vociferously been demanding of labor. Certain sore spots in the financial world have been given first aid; later on more permanent dressings will be in order. The Guaranty Trust Company, for instance, as to whose embarrassment there has been such deadly silence in the daily press, is with the aid of J. P. Morgan and Company and many others, safe again. Had this great institution not been rescued there would have been a financial disaster of such magnitude as to make it clear that the Federal Reserve System is in itself no panacea against panics. Meanwhile, the bankers are making worthless all statistics of trade failures by bolstering up company after company which ordinarily would have been placed in the hands of receivers. A number of other concerns—some of them very large ones—will not weather the winter. A long-continued railroad strike would, of course, do infinite harm in all directions, and wipe out whatever signs of improvement in railway finance are otherwise apparent.

In certain lines, moreover, the situation continues extremely bad. Because of cancelations of orders and refusals to pay them, our merchants engaged in South American trade are gravely embarrassed. With sugar selling at two cents a pound the great sugar companies are in distress. Half their 1921 crops are unmarketed, and no money is on hand with which to produce the 1922 tonnage. One such concern which had twenty millions of dollars in bank in cash last May is now in dire straits for ten millions more. There is so little improvement in the iron and steel industry that the prospects now held out for lower freight rates on ore are not likely to stimulate putting into blast the idle furnaces which during August produced only 28 per cent of the normal output of pig iron. In the coal trade the public, despite official and private exhortations to buy, has in many cities held off in the hope of lower prices. The August bituminous coal production was only 63 per cent of the normal quantity. On the other hand, the index of wholesale prices compiled by the Department of Labor shows that of 327 commodities 99 increased in price, 123 decreased and 105 remained stationary, the principal increases being in the important farm products and food groups. The situation would not be so bad if the producers got the increase the consumers pay.

Where then are the really encouraging signs? In building an increase of 11 per cent in New York and Northern New Jersey during August; in the retail trade, according to the monthly review of the Federal Reserve Agent at New York, a "distinct advance" reported by eight mail order houses, though there is a decline in direct purchasing in the cities and individual sales are about 17 per cent smaller per sale. The bond market was surprisingly good in September. Prices have risen steadily from one-half to 4 per cent and a remarkably large number of 7 and 8 per cent offerings have been snapped up. New foreign bonds continue to be extensively advertised and are readily disposed of. Indeed, to many observers, this, together with the rise in value of Liberty Bonds, is the most encouraging

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feature of all, for such a demand for bonds is usually the forerunner of an improvement in stock market conditions. When all is said and done, however, such improvement as there is remains of a surface character. The most significant fact is that the September foreign trade showing is the worst of the year. Imports were only $180,000,000, and exports $325,000,000—the latter only $5,000,000 above the export low record of this year. Together they constitute but 50 per cent of the joint figures for September, 1920.

As long as this condition continues it is idle to hope for any basic improvement or any marked decrease in unemployment. Those business men who assert that we can, and soon shall, have prosperity all our own, without regard to Europe and England, merely display their own ignorance and blindness. Until the Central Powers and Russia are again drawn into the world's organization and Mexico is recognized there can be no hope for our complete restoration. As a matter of fact, English bankers do not expect to see England recover her normal foreign trade for a period of from five to seven years. Yet there are still surprisingly many Americans who really believe that prosperity can be produced by incantation; that if everybody will only say in unison: "Prosperity is coming", it will soon appear from around the corner.

The Judgment of Solomon

UPPER Silesia is to be divided after all. Three months ago the French, supporting Poland through thick and thin, and the British, supporting Germany's claim to the great industrial centers, agreed only upon one thing: that the great underground treasure-house could not be divided. The outlying districts could be parceled out to Germany or to Poland as their populations voted; but the infinitely complicated nexus of railroads, coal mines, blast furnaces, iron mines, power-houses, electric connections, and water supply in the heart of Upper Silesia—the region including Tarnowitz, Beuthen, Königshütte, Kattowitz, Hindenburg (Zabrze), and Gleiwitz—could never be divided. The English drew compromises and the French drew compromises, but neither of them was ready to draw a line that cut the heart in two. Finally they referred it to the League of Nations, a committee of which has decided—to cut the heart of the industrial region in two. Another permanent plague-spot is to be added to those other ludicrous but tragic post-war boundary lines where towns are cut off from their own railway stations, cities separated from their water supply, farms from their own fields.

Less than three years ago Upper Silesia was so little known that Lloyd George, talking to an American journalist, turned to his secretary and asked, "Is it Upper or Lower Silesia that we are giving away?" The first draft of the treaty did give Upper Silesia away. But between May 7 and June 28, 1919, Lloyd George and others learned more of their "gift," and the final draft of the treaty prescribed a plebiscite in which the inhabitants were to vote by communes, after which the Interallied Commission, paying regard "to the wishes of the inhabitants as shown by the vote, and to the geographical and economic conditions of the locality," was to recommend a boundary line. The plebiscite was taken on March 23 last—709,340 voted to remain German, 479,747 to become Polish. But before the Inter-Allied Commission could make its recommendation, the Korfanty revolt, long warned against by the Germans but scoffed at as impossible by the French, broke out. Polish insurgents, with the aid of a stream of munitions shipped across the Polish frontier and untrammeled by the French troops in occupation, swept across the province. The Polish Government disclaimed responsibility for the revolt which it had fathered. After two months of bitter fighting—the Germans have printed photographic evidence of most atrocious and revolting cruelty by the Poles—an armistice was finally arranged. The Supreme Council sat in August but could reach no solution; so, in lightsome fashion, it referred the problem to the League. The League Commission has just made a report of which we know only the bare outlines.

Solomon-like the League divides the disputed baby, but unlike the biblical mothers, neither Germany nor Poland is likely to renounce its share. Some newspaper correspondents report a hybrid proposal by which Upper Silesia, politically half Polish and half German, would have "economic unity" with the same monetary basis and a common railway and industrial administration—but such an arrangement, perpetuating the conflict, postponing the decision, and continuing the reasons for terrorism, would be even worse than a straight line. Other correspondents report the League rather as imitating the first Nicholas of Russia, who, when his engineers proposed alternative routes for the Moscow-St. Petersburg railway, took his ruler, drew a straight line which ignored swamps, hills, or settlements, and said, "Make it *so*." The League makes it *so*.

Let us not ignore the difficulty of the task. In this industrial nexus the cities voted heavily German; most of the country districts voted less heavily Polish. No straight line separating those who voted Polish from those who voted German was possible. Nor could any straight line be drawn that paid reasonable attention to the economic complexity of the region, and yet divided it. To the statesman there were but two alternatives—to give the region entire to either Germany or Poland. The outlying districts could have been—and were in the later compromise proposals—allotted to Poland or to Germany, as their peoples voted; the "chapeau," the three-cornered industrial region that looked like a Napoleonic cockade on the map, was an economic as well as political unit. But politics triumphed over statesmanship; Poland's proved incapacity for government was set aside and she is given more than she had any right, on the record of history, of the plebiscite, or of Europe's economic needs, to expect. She wins not only the rich undeveloped mineral wealth of Pless and Rybnik; she is given also, according to report, the great centers of Beuthen and Königshütte, which voted three to one German, and Kattowitz, which voted six to one for Germany. The pet of French policy does well on paper. But in fact she perpetuates German hatred of herself as she has already perpetuated Russian hate. If in her administration of her new wealth she shows no greater competence than she has thus far shown within her present boundaries she may in the end win the hatred of France, too. For France also suffers by the decision. Even French statesmen today admit that Germany, to pay her debts, is taxing her resources to the limit; with this wealth-producing region cut off from her, her strength is still less. This diplomatic victory for France and Poland is likely to mean the early fall of the Wirth cabinet, fighting to pay the reparations in full. In the end it may well mean economic disaster for both Germany and France, and so for all Europe.

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The Fiscal *Pons Asinorum*

By HENRY RAYMOND MUSSEY

A QUICK rule for getting even with political enemies these days would be, Make them write the tax bills. For more than seven months the Administration, backed by enormous majorities in both houses, has been manfully at work trying to produce a revenue measure. With what result? To quote the *Public Ledger*, "The carefully shaped tax revision bill of the Senate finance committee is on the rocks. . . . Viewed from afar off, it looks like a total loss, with small insurance." Unable to drive its own measure through, the Senate committee has made up to the opposition in an agreement which moves the *Wall Street Journal* to express itself thus: "The pusillanimous surrender of the Republican leaders is in no sense a compromise. It is a cowardly retreat before a gang of demagogues, euphemistically called an agricultural *bloc*."

But the *Wall Street Journal* should not be too greatly exercised. The President and his followers are not responsible for their failure. They have simply tried to do the impossible—to find four billions of revenue for Uncle Sam, and at the same time to untax business. It cannot be done within the existing fiscal scheme. It is unthinkable, moreover, without far more drastic disarmament than was ever dreamed of in Mr. Harding's philosophy. The Republicans had promised to repeal the levies on business, especially the excess-profits tax, and many of their business supporters hoped to see these imposts replaced by a general sales tax. The latter proposal, however, raised a storm of popular disapproval, and the sales tax was withdrawn after a brief showing. Now Senator Smoot has put a new costume on his child, and it is once more winning plaudits from the National Association of Manufacturers and other bodies which do not believe that business really ought to pay taxes anyway; but few observers believe that the sales tax has any real chance of enactment. Nevertheless Senator Smoot is the one courageous and consistent figure among the servants of "business" in the Senate. Only, he can't command the necessary votes.

If a sales tax cannot be enacted, then what is the problem in detail? For taxes have an uncomfortable way of getting down to details. On August 4 Secretary Mellon told the Committee on Ways and Means that they must raise at least $4,554,012,817 for 1922. After all the talk of economy this was bad political news, and following a hasty series of Administration conferences the Secretary six days later presented a revised estimate. Possible "savings" of $350,000,000 in this year's expenditures had been discovered, and $170,000,000 of debt redemption was to be taken care of—by not being made. Thus the year's total was reduced to $4,034,000,000. But even if customs, salvage, and miscellaneous receipts bring in the expected $762,000,000, there will still remain $3,272,000,000 to be raised by internal taxes, thirty dollars each for every man, woman, and child in the country. How can it be painlessly extracted?

With that question and with its promise to relieve business of crushing tax burdens, the Administration has vainly struggled for half a year. The best it could do was found in the Senate committee's bill, now mangled beyond recognition. That bill proposed to repeal the excess-profits tax, thus cutting off $450,000,000 of estimated revenue, to reduce the maximum surtax on individual incomes from 65 to 32 per cent, thus sacrificing another $80,000,000 to $90,000,000, and to repeal the tax on the capital stock of corporations, thus relieving them of $75,000,000 a year. The Washington *Post* puts it mildly in saying that "Congress has been very considerate of business"; Senator Reed harshly in stating that this total of $615,000,000 is "the burden forgiven the profiteers who have bled the American people white." Besides this relief to "business," the committee proposed to take off one-half the transportation taxes on January 1 next and the remaining half at the end of 1922, and to raise the income-tax exemption from $2,000 to $2,500 in case of incomes under $5,000, by these two measures foregoing another third of a billion of income. To fill up the hole in the revenue created by these changes, about the only substantial proposal the committee could offer was an increase of the corporation income tax by 5 per cent, estimated to yield $260,000,000. Whether the bill as drawn would have yielded revenue enough nobody can tell certainly.

As soon as it was reported, the measure was shot to pieces by its critics. Senator La Follette in a minority report entitled it "An act to untax wealth and penalize industry and enterprise." "Not only," he declared, "are the super-taxes upon the incomes of multi-millionaires cut in half and the taxes upon the profiteering of corporations abolished, but new loopholes are provided by which, in the future, American capitalists can more and more completely escape taxation." Neither in the committee report nor on the floor has any successful attempt been made to meet these charges.

The revolt against the bill was in fact so prompt and vigorous that the Administration forces surrendered straightway. On October 11 a set of compromise amendments were brought back to the Senate by a divided Republican majority in the finance committee. Senator McCumber, temporarily in charge of the bill, spoke ruefully for himself: "I suppose that some Senators may feel very harmonious toward the amendments, but I am one of those who do not"; and like a true die-hard, the North Dakotan declared his purpose to oppose the accursed thing. Up rose Casabianca Smoot among the slaughtered dead and in a two-hour speech manfully defended his slighted sales tax, which, he declared, logically enough, "is bound to come." The day's clamor ended, however, with the defiant cry of Senator Watson [Indiana]: "The repeal of the excess-profits tax was the one great thing we promised the people of the United States . . . and that was the one tax we intended to repeal at all hazard and at any cost."

And there the matter lies. By surrendering the outworks the Old Guard, despite appearances, have held the citadel. The excess-profits tax is to go, and in the actual outcome a considerable reduction in the surtaxes will doubtless be effected, though the tax on capital stock will remain, according to present indications. The real trouble is that the opposition have no real program and no apparent purpose to use the tax machinery to accomplish any well-defined social end. They are winning a battle, but unless they evolve a plan of campaign they will lose the war; for the logic of the situation is with Senator Smoot. In the very compromise bill which is heralded as an opposition victory are new and little regarded definitions and administrative provisions which may well rob the income tax of much of its effectiveness in reaching large incomes, while the sections dealing with foreign traders indicate that American imperialism is getting ready for new triumphs. What the progressive forces need above all else today is brains and a consistent democratic program. Lacking them, they may embarrass the Old Guard, but their victories will be empty.

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The Rise of Japanese Labor Consciousness

By FRANK GODWIN

Tokio, September 11

KOBE, with a population of something over 600,000 (third in population in Japan), is the greatest commercial port and one of the big industrial centers of the Empire. One of her chief industries is shipbuilding, the biggest shipyard being the Kawasaki, employing over 17,000 wage-earners at present, about 8,000 less than in the "boom" period two years ago. At the end of June this year some 11,000 of these workers were members of labor unions, the Electrical Department (880 workers) being the most solidly organized. The organization of the Kawasaki men dates back more than nine years, when a kind of "workmen's circle" was formed in their plant, this association being connected with the Yuai-Kai (Workers' Friendly Society), which in recent years, since the Government permitted labor unions to be formed, has changed its name to the Japanese General Confederation of Labor, and is the oldest and strongest of all national labor bodies in Japan.

With their long experience in associated action, the Kawasaki workers are among the most advanced in Japan in experience of an organized class struggle, understanding of the social position of the workers, and capacity for and possession of labor idealism—the conception of a truer freedom for the workers. In September, 1919, it was the Kawasaki workers who introduced a new tactic into labor's struggles in Japan—sabotage—and by its use introduced a new working system in Japan—the eight-hour day—both tactic and system being subsequently put into effect in many industrial enterprises throughout Japan, and favorably affecting the living and working conditions of over half a million Japanese wage-earners.

At the end of June this year most of these Kawasaki workers were connected with unions organized independently and unconnected with the Yuai-Kai Federation. A smaller number were members of unions affiliated with the latter body. All unions, whether Yuai-Kai or independent, sent delegates to the Kobe League of Labor Unions, which it will be more convenient to refer to as the Kobe Federation of Labor, which includes—besides the Kawasaki unions—other shipyard unions, steel workers, printers, rubber workers, and other organized groups.

Another big shipyard in Kobe is the Mitsubishi, employing some 11,000 workers, of whom less than 1,000 were organized at the end of June this year. Though the Kawasaki management has never been friendly to labor unions, they have not rooted them out with the persistent persecution which has existed in the Mitsubishi plant. With no labor organizations of importance, wages at the Mitsubishi plant were lower and hours longer than at Kawasaki, while the men themselves, when grievances became bitter, resorted to riots and destruction quite as much as strikes, having several times combined the two methods. Also, as may be expected, with the exception of the small minority of organized workers there has been little understanding and little social vision among the Mitsubishi wage-earners, though they are more and more coming to see the necessity of organized efforts through labor unionism—which in Japan today generally means industrial unionism.

In recent months the labor unions of Japan, with the economic crisis handicapping them in every way, and with their backs to the wall, have been fighting for their existence, and have displayed a power and a courage if anything greater than they evinced in easier times. Two points have characterized the labor struggles of recent months, the first being the demand for the freedom of the workers to join any union they see fit, and the definite recognition of their unions as negotiating bodies. The second point, of immediate importance to every worker in such times, is that of "dismissal allowance," the unions demanding that in case of discharge of workers on account of slackness in trade, advance wages shall be paid for a period of some months ahead, the exact amount depending on the length of service, and in the case of old employees amounting to more than a year's wages. On both points the unions have actually won out in a number of places, and the second matter is now in greater or less degree in practice among Japanese employers. Tens of thousands of workers have been added to the ranks of organized labor, though the "closed shop" is not necessarily a part of their program, and the incomers have been voluntary ones.

On June 28 the Kobe Federation of Labor held a meeting to discuss the movement for the general recognition of unions as negotiating bodies, and to see what could be done to establish firmly the position of labor unions in the great industrial city of Kobe. The following day the Electrical Department of the Kawasaki Yard presented demands to the management including recognition of the unions as negotiating bodies in wage or other disputes, a high "discharge allowance" system, and the establishment of the "factory committee" system (works committees elected by the workers direct). About the same time, the workers at a branch of the Mitsubishi works presented demands for the freedom to organize unions, the recognition of such unions as negotiating bodies, a high "discharge allowance" system, the introduction of the eight-hour day (already in force at Kawasaki), and an increase in wages which would bring the scale close to that already paid at Kawasaki.

After a week's fruitless negotiations, the sixteen committeemen from the Electrical Department of the Kawasaki Yard were dismissed, the dismissals being accompanied by liberal "discharge allowances," but the committeemen declined to accept dismissal, and the following morning most of them came to the yard as usual, and though the gatekeepers declined to admit them, a number of their fellow-workers pushed the gate-keepers aside and swept their "dismissed" committeemen into the yard. Inside the yard meetings and discussions went on, and it was finally decided to quit work. A fight provoked by some armed hooligans apparently in company employ (a class which would be termed "sluggers" in America) resulted in a number of injuries on both sides, which aggravated the already strained relations. At the Mitsubishi Yard, at the same time, committeemen had also been dismissed, but did not attempt to force their way. Meetings and discussions took place, however, and after some conflicts with watchmen which involved some personal injuries and destruction of property, quitting work was decided upon here also.

This was on July 7. On the following day the workers from both shipyards formed a procession, 25,000 strong,

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parading the principal streets of Kobe. This, however, was only a preliminary to the demonstrations of the 9th (Sunday), when under the auspices of the Kobe Federation of Labor probably the greatest labor demonstration so far seen in Japan took place. Some smaller unions engaged in disputes at the time joined in the demonstration, the mass of union men in Kobe—steel workers, printers, and others—turned out, and several hundred came down from Osaka—in all about 30,000 workers participating.

The procession stretched for miles and miles through the streets of Kobe, a long line of red flags, red union banners, and white banners inscribed with strike slogans. Under the broiling hot sun the men made a pace of about five miles an hour. The khaki overalls and jumpers of the shipyard men—though some of them had discarded this for their cooler "palm beach" suits—were soaked through with perspiration, but they never checked either their swift pace nor the words of the labor songs which they repeated again and again throughout the long march they had mapped out for themselves. Regular order, wonderful spirit—men marching on with all the courage and determination possible to humankind, under their great red banners, singing their songs of inspiration and joy—

Awake, workers of Japan,
Have done with old traditions . . .

or

Proud to be workers,
And demanding the reward of labor . . .
Labor is sacred . . .

and a dense crowd, high-strung, tense, packed the many miles of streets along which the marchers went, and offered encouragement and cheer, or themselves tried to join in the songs, or repeated the strike slogans inscribed on the banners, "Union," "Justice," "Solidarity." It was not a mournful appeal for sympathy, not a maudlin whine "from the depths," but a triumphal procession of men rising to a truer manhood and beginning to acquire a sense of their real strength, of their true mission in society, and marching onward to a future of which they could but dimly see the brilliance.

Perfect order prevailed in the Kawasaki plant next day. All the workers reported at the yard at their usual time, but no work whatever was performed, the eight hours being devoted to discussions and meetings, except for a part of the afternoon when several thousand decided on a public demonstration and went out in procession. Gradually their ideas were becoming clearer, and their immediate program more plainly defined. Stimulating also were some vague visions they had gained of "lands beyond the sea," of Italian and other workers who had for a time at least succeeded in taking things into their own hands. Certainly the men couldn't leave the plant—anyone who did so without special arrangements was a "scab." Loafing around the hot yard was certainly tiresome, but to start work in the usual manner was unthinkable—they had something to fight for. But what was to prevent their resuming work in their own way, for their own benefit?

The directors, in the meantime, had steadily persisted in their statement that they could not discuss matters with the workers—or, rather, saboteurs—owing to the absence of the president of the company, Matsukata, in Europe. While he was away, they said, they could not take upon themselves the responsibility of making such changes as the men suggested, being really helpless under the circumstances. And from some of the strikers came the response: "Well, if they're such helpless creatures, at least we are not. If they can't run the works, we can. If they won't take the responsibility of any changes till Matsukata gets back, we will." And about this time Mr. Kagawa came into the game in earnest.

Mr. Toyohiko Kagawa is a Christian and a Socialist. Not the strangely ineffective creature we usually think of as a Christian Socialist, but a man who combines the spiritual beliefs of Christ and Tolstoy with the practical convictions of present-day guild socialism. He was educated in America—in Princeton University, I believe—but somehow retained his soul. Ten years ago, after his return to Japan, he settled down in the slum quarters in Kobe, one of those eccentric people who follow Christ to the uttermost disreputable degree. If a man wanted his cloak, he gave it to him. If a prostitute or a beggar-child was ill, he would watch over them night and day with the tenderness of a mother. If a poor half-demented product of slum degeneracy threatened him with violence for no reason whatever, he would argue with the man, or flee from him if necessary, but protect him if wanted by the police. When a genuine labor movement began to develop a few years ago he was one of the foremost organizers. He was becoming famous as a writer, both of social studies and of novels (touched with the inspiration of socialist idealism and Christian ethics), and now took up the costly work of editing a labor paper, the *Laborers' News*, which reached thousands of workers in Kobe and vicinity. Though a non-resistant by conviction, he has no hesitation about advocating the most radical methods that can possibly be carried out without violence; at the same time he speaks to the general public in terms they understand, terms which sweep away every capitalist justification with its own defensive phrases. His own writings and personality are to a considerable extent responsible for the fact that the mass of middle-class people in Kobe are thoroughly sympathetic with labor, even when labor steps out toward things which are so far beyond middle-class vision that they cannot grasp the full revolutionary significance of them. And this was the position in the middle of July in Kobe.

The "supreme council" of the Kawasaki men consisted of delegates elected not by unions, but by departments, by the mass of the workers, whether affiliated with unions or not. Mr. Kagawa, though himself not a wage-earner strictly speaking, is fairly worshiped by many union men in Kobe, where the combination of high education and intelligence, practical sense and real vision is not very common, and labor meetings are open to him when they may be closed to everyone else not immediately involved in their business. It is stated that Mr. Kagawa was the man who appeared before the few-score men who made up the "supreme council" of the Kawasaki men, and submitted to them a definite plan for taking over control of the workshops. This is said to have been received with tremendous enthusiasm and unanimous approval. However that may be, on July 12 (Tuesday) there was a declaration in the hands of every worker actively participating in the Kawasaki struggle, which appears to show the literary finesse of Mr. Kagawa. His hand also seems to be evident in the intelligent and diplomatic manner in which the taking over of control is explained to the public, "that he who runs may read." But let this document, a most remarkable one in its combination of respectable phraseology and revolutionary signifi-

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cance, and perhaps indicating that militant labor is not compelled to use the language either of predaciousness or of metaphysics, speak for itself:

The Kawasaki Industrial Committee assumes control of the operations of the various workshops from (blank for date). We, as representatives of over 17,000 workers at the head and branch factories of the Kawasaki Shipbuilding Yard, presented to the management of the company demands consisting of seven counts, including the introduction of the factory committee system. To these demands Messrs. Nagatome and Yamamoto, directors of the company, refused to give a satisfactory answer, on the plea of the absence of the president.

We have never been prompted by a desire to put the industry of Japan in jeopardy. What we desire is that the company should recognize our personality and help in rendering our lives less difficult. If, however, we continue to strike as a counter-measure against the arrogant and insincere attitude which has been hitherto assumed by the company, it will only end in paralyzing the industry of Japan and in causing social unrest, and therefore we propose to do our work at our respective workshops, ourselves assuming control of all operations, until our demands are accepted.

THE METHODS OF CONTROL

1. The Industrial Committee shall control all the business.
2. All the clerks and other employees must attend to their respective duties as hitherto, under the direction of the Industrial Committee.
3. The company shall be made to pay wages to the workers at the same rates as hitherto.
4. The working hours shall be reduced from the present eight hours to six, but efforts will be made to do the same amount of work during this reduced working period. When, however, the Industrial Committee considers it expedient, this time will either be extended or further reduced.
5. Those who act in a manner disturbing the general peace of the various workshops and impairing the efficiency shall be referred to the Disciplinary Committee.

On the same day (July 12), admission tickets to the yard were issued by strike headquarters, committeemen were posted at the entrances to the yard, and none but ticket-holders were admitted. There were, however, a large number of uniformed policemen already in the grounds, as well as gendarmes, and a guard of marines was on the warships and submarines under construction. More gendarmes arrived in the course of the day from outside the city, while reserve police had already been called out to the number of several thousand.

The workers came to work at the usual time both on the 12th and 13th, but no work was begun, for detailed plans of operation and a method for overcoming the opposition of the armed forces had not yet been decided. The management made no attempt to parley further, but on the 14th a battalion of troops arrived, and the management felt that the armed forces were sufficient to cope with any ordinary contingencies. A ten-day lockout was now declared, and the works were closed. At the same time some rather remarkable notices were put up by naval officers, appealing to the workers "not to injure the battleships." Public demonstrations were prohibited by the authorities, as well as the singing of labor songs on the streets. Though the prohibition of demonstrations prevented the workers from massing their forces for a general march to the yard, a few hundred managed to get together near certain gates and attempted to make their way in, but the hundreds of police and gendarmes prevented this, and after a struggle the men were driven back and many arrested.

A public statement by the authorities, to the effect that the fact of 30,000 unemployed workmen on the streets necessitated the presence of large numbers of military and police to keep order, was immediately taken up by the locked-out men, and all ex-conscripts in their ranks—more than 4,000 in number—were called upon to wear their military uniform and undertake the duty of maintaining peace and order and help relieve the authorities of this onerous task. The latter, however, instead of welcoming this offer, displayed both apprehension and opposition. The organizers were officially requested to see to it that this plan was not carried out, but to this request no attention was paid, and 4,000 workers daily donned their old uniforms and took part in the activities of their fellow-workers. However, this was a tentative thing, and the workers were too well aware of their comparative weakness to provoke an armed conflict with the military forces of the Empire.

The Kawasaki management, partly in an endeavor to improve relations somewhat and partly to avoid the likelihood of violent reprisals later, had agreed to give half-pay for the period of lockout. So the men were free for a vacation, and even as they had quit work together, so they "vacationed" together. Demonstrations being prohibited, great athletic meetings, baseball matches, swimming matches, mountain hikes were arranged. At the same time preparations were made for the financing of the strike which appeared inevitable. Thousands of men went out on the streets daily as peddlers, taking in tens of thousands of yen, of which a part went to the sellers direct and a part to the general strike fund. One hundred and twenty-five more committeemen were dismissed by the Kawasaki management, with liberal discharge allowances, which they accepted.

The Mitsubishi yard, where there had been some rioting and destruction of property by the almost unorganized workers, had declared a lockout on July 12, two days before the Kawasaki plant. In the demonstrations and other meetings 10,000 Mitsubishi men swelled the workers' ranks, which were augmented from time to time by locked-out men from the Kobe Steel Foundry (some 3,000 workers) and the Formosan Sugar Company (less than 1,000 workers), where also the principles of the right to organize and the establishment of workers' shop committees were being sought, and "ca' canny" on the part of the men had been met with lockouts. In the meantime, a week's negotiations and a couple of days of "going slow" at the Kobe branch of the Dunlop Rubber Company had ended in the granting of the points mentioned to some 1,500 workers employed there.

Bertrand Russell arrived in Japan July 17, on his way to England via Canada, and was met in Kobe by a reception committee of about fifty shipyard workers with their great red banners, headed by Mr. Kagawa. Mr. Russell addressed a strike meeting the following evening (his speech being of course translated by another) and received a remarkable ovation. A great labor meeting was held in Osaka on the 19th, under the auspices of the General Federation of Labor (Yuai-Kai), and over 2,000 voices, husky with emotion, roared out the Japanese Socialist "Song of Revolution"—a song under the official ban, for the singing of which many men have in the past been imprisoned:

Ah, the revolution is approaching,
Ah, the revolution is approaching,—
Awake, ye children of poverty,
Awake, ye ragged children of the dirty streets. . . .

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But all this enthusiasm, all this spirit, all this outburst of idealist fervor was powerless to gain the day for the shipyard workers. The lockout ended after ten days, but strict military control of the shipyards made it impossible for the Kawasaki workers to put their plan of industrial democracy into operation, and nothing was left for them but either strike or utter defeat. They chose the former alternative, as did also the Mitsubishi men at the expiration of their lockout. A few days later the foremen (who had participated in the struggle on the side of the workers) were by certain inducements brought over to the side of the management and succeeded in drawing a part of the workers back to the yards (from 15 to 30 per cent), although the almost total absence of certain important classes of labor prevented any real resumption of work.

Regular demonstrations being under the official ban, the idea was hit upon by the strikers of visiting shrines *en masse*, such "religious processions" being expressly free from police interference. On July 29, the second day of these processions, the paraders upon coming near the Kawasaki Dock turned down toward the yard and attempted to force their way in. The police, after a brief attempt to push back the men, drew their swords and attacked. A few of the men had impromptu weapons such as sticks or stones, but the great mass were wholly unarmed, and when the police charge came it was less than a minute before the men took flight. A few fought with desperate courage, grasping the swords with their naked hands, but the outcome was never in doubt, and the police pursued the fleeing men, cutting them down with mad fury as they overtook them. One man was mortally wounded, forty or fifty seriously, and over a hundred received minor cuts and gashes. Practically all the seriously wounded men were stabbed through the back, and a number of them had their fingers almost cut off. The mortally wounded man had had the policeman's sword driven clear through his back to the thorax until the point protruded on the other side. On the part of the police there were no casualties worth mentioning.

This affair was followed by wholesale arrests, some three hundred strike leaders being imprisoned, including the "militant pacifist" Mr. Kagawa, who had consistently counseled against violent methods. Strikers in the vicinity of the yards would be driven inside by the police, such labor meetings as were permitted were closely watched and many speakers stopped, and individual insults and threats were resorted to to break the spirit of the strikers, three-fourths of whom were standing solid. And while the Government appeared to be attempting to crush the strike by sheer terrorism, the companies were clearly determined to achieve this end by starvation. Distress was becoming more and more keenly felt among the strikers, and though public sympathy with the latter was rather increased than anything else, people were running short of money and could patronize the thousands of striker peddlers no longer—the last economic resource of the men.

With all the odds against them, however, the strikers remained so steadfast that attempts began to be made at mediation, both by the governor of the prefecture and the mayor of Kobe. These offers were finally rejected by the strikers on August 8, and immediately afterward they announced their intention of returning to work, making no terms whatever with their respective employers:

> Our resolution to achieve our ends is unshaken. We shall never lose sight of them. We are confident that with our (organized) power we shall be able to carry them out in the near future. Our movement is in accord with that (of labor) throughout the world, and justice is on our side.

What this means the writer is not prepared to say. The strike appears to be lost, but just what tricks the shipyard workers have up their sleeves no one but themselves knows, and only the future will make it clear. But 30,000 men in Kobe have gained the vision of labor control of industry, industrial democracy. They have heard the thing explained, have come to understand its possibilities, and know exactly what to expect from the authorities the next time. A hundred thousand organized workers throughout Japan have watched the struggle with tense interest, judging the possibilities for themselves in a struggle to take into their hands the reins of power and the control of their own destinies. These organized men are a still small minority of the Japanese workers. The mass of Japanese workers as yet do not possess the social vision, the sense of responsibility, and the administrative ability successfully to assume democratic industrial control, but the leaven is working, the ranks of organized labor are steadily growing, and a new day is dawning for Japanese labor. And through it all there runs the militant minority of enlightened workers, to whom their goal is ever coming clearer and closer—social, political, and industrial democracy, a new economic and social order in which labor shall be free.

Seventeen thousand men have made a step toward the thing itself, have attempted to establish their own democratic regime in the industries which they operate, and have found the things with which they must cope, and for which they must be fully prepared in their struggle. In this first battle for the new ideal the workers have met defeat, but this is not a struggle which is crushed by any number of defeats of this nature, and the words of Mr. Kagawa, before going to prison, may well be quoted:

> The authorities . . . dispatched troops and organized a naval brigade, but if they think that by these means they can set restrictions on the awakening self-consciousness of the working classes they are greatly mistaken. . . .
>
> . . . Through our unions we are gaining the experience, and the administrative and organizing ability, which will enable us to use our newly won freedom in the best interests of ourselves and the community. We will not stop until we have achieved industrial democracy, and the new serfdom has gone the way of the old.

Good Men

By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

THERE were good men in David's town,
When Jesus climbed to Calvary's crown,

Good men who saw him seized and tried!
Good men who watched him while he died!

What said these good men on the street,
When they with neighbors chanced to meet?

What thought these good men, when the night
Curtained Jerusalem from sight?

What prayed these good men, when they trod
The Temple court, in quest of God?

Why . . . much the same as you and I,
Who now see *Debs* in prison lie!

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Burgenland—A Pawn on the Chess Board

By HENRY G. ALSBERG

WHAT is the true significance of the West Hungarian muddle? This is a question every sophisticated newspaper reader will ask himself, having by this time been put on his guard against taking political developments abroad at their face value. The press of Europe and America represents the Hungarian refusal to give up this little corner of arable land known variously as West Hungary and the Burgenland to Austria in accordance with the Trianon Treaty to be merely another outbreak of the D'Annunzio disease, which has already cropped out in Fiume, Vilna, and Silesia. This is partly true. But in West Hungary there are peculiar and characteristic complications.

Toward the end of August, according to the provisions of the Trianon Treaty, two things were to happen. First, the Jugoslavs were to return to Hungary the district of Baranya, which included some coal mines very much needed by the Hungarians, or at least by certain persons financially interested in Hungary. Second, West Hungary, inhabited largely by a German-speaking population, but which had belonged to Hungary time out of mind, a rich grain district almost essential to the existence of Vienna, was to be handed over to Austria. The time for the transfer of the Baranya approached. The majority of the population, mostly Hungarians, including a great number of coal miners, dreaded this annexation by Horthy's White Terror. They protested against the unconditional transfer; they demanded that the Entente seize this opportunity to moderate Horthy's tyranny by making the cession conditional upon guaranties to be furnished that the White Terror in Hungary itself should be curbed and that it should not be introduced at all into the recovered province. But the British Commissioner at Budapest, Gosset, rushed down to the Baranya, and with all the weight of his influence urged that the transfer be made by Jugoslavia on the day fixed. Meanwhile the Jugoslavs had inspired the desperate Baranyans to set up a little republic of their own, à la Vilna, which was to be backed by Jugoslavia. But Gosset at Pecs, Baranya's capital, and the British at Belgrade found means to persuade the south Slav Government to abandon the new republic and the Baranya population to Horthy's terrorists. Gosset, showing a certain humanity, before the Hungarian troops entered gave the secretary of the mayor of Pecs a copy of the Horthy blacklist of persons to be summarily dealt with. These people therefore had an opportunity to escape. But what of the thousands of workmen who couldn't escape, who are now suffering under a rule of violence and lawlessness, who are being beaten up and arrested and interned and deported by the hundred; who, if they are fortunate, have to work in the mines, under the fixed bayonets of the occupying troops?

Within a few days of the Baranya transfer to Hungary, the cession of West Hungary to Austria was to take place. In Vienna it was quite well known that the cession would never occur, at least not peaceably. In the Hungarian Parliament the Prime Minister had already been rumbling about the trouble which would follow any attempt by Austria to insist on her pound of flesh. The Austrian Government, and also the Majority Socialists who do not actively take part in the Government, but without whose acquiescence the Government dare not act, assumed the attitude that Austria would not fight for the Burgenland, but would accept it if handed over peaceably. To be quite fair, it must at this point be admitted that the attitude of the Socialists had somewhat changed since the signing of the Trianon Treaty. At that time they avowed nothing would induce them to sanction the annexation of the Burgenland by Austria, since annexation of this ancient Hungarian province would be playing into the hands of Entente Machiavellism and would be to deny all the principles upon which socialism was based. But during the course of a year the Socialists proved the old adage "L'appétit vient en mangeant."

Nevertheless, on the day the Austrian gendarmerie began marching into West Hungary, under leadership of Allied commissioners, the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, organ of the Majority Socialists, published a declaration that the party would insist on a free plebiscite in West Hungary to determine whether the population wished to be Austrian or Hungarian. Such a free plebiscite had been impossible under the Horthy regime. This declaration by the Socialist Party was paramount to a promise by Austria to hold a plebiscite, since no Austrian government could survive against the solid opposition of the party of Adler and Bauer. The sequel is well known. Austria's gendarmerie met with resistance from Hungarian irregulars, plainly drawing their support from at least a section of the Hungarian Government. That is more than a month ago. West Hungary is still in possession of the Hungarians and the Entente has made no effective efforts to have it handed over to Austria.

Several questions arise. Why could not the Entente use the same effective arguments to compel Horthy's Government that it used against the Jugoslavs to compel them to evacuate the Baranya? Lack of power? Hungary is surrounded by the Little Entente crouching ready to spring at a word from the Big Entente. It is inconceivable that Hungary would resist a word of warning from Paris or London, the sources of its economic and political existence. Also why was not the handing over of the Baranya made conditional on the transfer of West Hungary instead of the reverse? And why, if the Entente had any desire to check Horthy's Terror, was the transfer of the Baranya not made conditional upon a moderation of this Terror?

There are several answers. One is very definite, even if resting on rather sordid motives. A British company, according to very good information, now owns the majority of the stock of an Hungarian steamship company navigating boats on the Danube. This company owns the Baranya coal mines. The interposition of the Jugoslav frontier made it difficult and precarious to get coal for the company's ships to Budapest. Here was a very specific reason for the pressure brought to bear on the south Slavs. Second, British finance has gradually been getting control of Hungary's resources and therefore is much concerned in seeing that Hungary, particularly Horthy's dictatorship, which like most dictatorships is lavish with concessions, gets every possible advantage. The coal mines at Pecs and the Danube steamship company are but pawns in Britain's attempt to control Hungary and thence the navigation of the Danube. Third, the strengthening of the Horthy reaction

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means the growth of reaction throughout Central Europe and the Balkans. First Rumania, then Jugoslavia succumbed to Budapest's example. The will was always present in both these countries, but their ruling classes had to be convinced of the feasibility of a reactionary regime. The only part of Jugoslavia that remained comparatively untouched by the wave of reaction was just the district of the Baranya, where the Serbs carefully left the workmen in comparative freedom in order that a pro-Serbian and anti-Hungarian sentiment should develop. And it must be admitted that, had the Baranya been definitely assigned to Jugoslavia, the campaign of persecution and oppression engulfing Belgrade and Zagreb would have spread to Pecs.

In contrast to Hungary, Austria is perhaps the freest and one of the most progressive countries in the world. Vienna is the haven of all political refugees, who live there comparatively unmolested and can write and say and think what they wish. The workmen of Austria hold the balance of power and force the Government to make concessions to the proletariat. In fact, the power, although not exercised by them, really rests in the workmen's hands. This is not a pleasant thing for the British and French Bourbons to witness. As long as Austria remains the free and democratic state that it is, Europe will not be safe against a liberal renascence. Hence Hungary must be strengthened and Austria, pitiable remnant that she is, must be further weakened and humiliated. If possible Austria must also be forced into the circle of reaction which has gripped Rumania and Jugoslavia. It is not mere newspaper sensationalism to say that Vienna is being threatened by the Hungarian bands at Wiener Neustadt. An actual invasion of Austria at the present moment by these Hungarian irregulars is not probable. But it must be recognized that the situation is critical and that the Austrian democracy has been seriously weakened by developments in West Hungary, developments directly due to Entente, and more particularly British, partiality for the Hungarian Terror.

In the Driftway

JEREMIAH SMITH is dead. One more of the noble figures that link that modern subwayed Cranford, Cambridge, Massachusetts, with the past, is gone. He was of the class of 1856 at Harvard; his father was graduated from Rutgers College with the class of 1780. Jeremiah was the youngest of a large family; not so many years ago he startled one of his law classes by saying, "One hundred years ago today, gentlemen, my little brother died." His father, also Jeremiah, had fought the British at Bunker Hill, according to Cambridge tradition; the two generations spanned the reigns of seven monarchs of the British Empire, including Victoria's sixty-four years. "Jerry" Smith—so even the irreverent younger generation called him—lived in one of those old Cambridge houses to which the generations had added bit by bit down to the final woodshed, and which still survive to tell the modern student that Cambridge was not always a mere suburb of Boston. "Young Dan" Webster was a frequent visitor in the old Smith household in New Hampshire—whence have come many of Massachusetts's finest, down to Judge Anderson in our own generation. Professor Smith was then a mere boy; Jeremiah, Sr., was then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire. "Big Judge" and "Little Judge," Webster called them laughingly—and the joke came true when Jeremiah, Jr.—late Sr.—succeeded his father on the supreme bench of his State before going to Harvard as Story Professor.

* * * * *

EIGHT years ago three members of the class of 1838 were in Cambridge at the seventy-fifth anniversary of their graduation. Today the ranks have thinned. Last spring the secretary of the class of 1850, Dr. H. R. Storer, of Newport, R. I., reporting the death of his last fellow-classmate, thus bade his university farewell:

T. J. Coolidge, LL.D. 1902, the most distinguished member of his class, died at Boston, November 17, 1920, in his ninetieth year. Through the death of Mr. Coolidge the class as such no longer exists. All save one are gone. The secretary alone remains, divested of all his duties, even of the sad task of adding the final star to the names of his dear comrades. Of himself too he cannot say the parting word which, when his own time comes, and it must now be very soon, should rightfully be but the old quotation:

He lived; he died.
Behold the sum—the abstract of the historian's page.

* * * * *

THAT learned friend of the Drifter's who assured him that zimbaloon should be spelled cembalo stands abundantly corrected. One correspondent, speaking with the accents of authority, assures the Drifter that the proper spelling is cembalom; another no less authoritatively says that he knew it in his native Hungary as czimbalom. But to the Drifter, when he hears Mr. Moskovitz weave magic spells upon its strings amid the dust and noise of Houston Street, the word is as he first understood it, with all the majestic wrongness of American phonetics: zimbaloon.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

The Attorney General *vs.* *The Nation* in the Rosenbluth Case

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I beg to acknowledge receipt of your Managing Editor's letter of September 29, and your letter of October 5, transmitting a copy of an article which you propose to publish in *The Nation*, entitled A Study in Justice, in which very severe criticisms are made of the Department of Justice in its investigation of certain charges against Captain Robert Rosenbluth.

While it is not the custom of this Department to comment upon articles submitted to it before publication, I have concluded to make an exception to what I consider my proper course in cases of this kind, since it is possible that well-meaning, fair-minded persons may be misled into believing that the Department of Justice has been guilty of gross acts of injustice toward Captain Rosenbluth. In reply I wish to state:

1. In so far as your article contains statements of fact, they are, in every fair sense and purport, incorrect;

2. In so far as your article contains inferences of your own, they are incorrect because based upon incorrect facts.

If, after considering what I have said, you decide to publish the article, I think that, in fairness, you should publish this letter, as a whole, in immediate connection with it.

Washington, D. C., October 11 H. M. DAUGHERTY
Attorney General

[As a matter of fairness to the Department of Justice we are glad to give space to Mr. Daugherty's letter. But it is important for the public to know the facts. Our article was based on letters and affidavits painstakingly gathered by Captain Rosenbluth and his attorney. These facts were fully cor-

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roborated and strengthened by our own independent inquiries.

In the interest of fair play on September 29 we sent a copy of the article to the Department of Justice with a request for comment and correction. We notified the Department that we desired to publish the article in the near future and requested the favor of a prompt reply. On October 5, having heard nothing, we again wrote in similar vein; finally, on October 7, we telegraphed as follows:

"If you intend to comment on article A Study in Justice—The Case of Robert Rosenbluth, proofs of which have been submitted to you and which we intend publishing, we should appreciate notification by telegraph, collect."

If in answer to any of these appeals the Department had requested time to prepare a letter on the question at issue we should have held the article until such a letter could reach us. Having heard nothing, on October 10 we proceeded with the publication of the article.

It is quite obvious that this belated and magisterial denial is wholly unsatisfactory. The charges were specific and backed in every detail by a substantial mass of evidence. To give one instance, on July 16 Mr. Herron, "for the Attorney General," wrote Captain Rosenbluth's attorney that the "Attorney General had reached the conclusion to order the dismissal of the proceedings pending in the Federal jurisdiction against Captain Rosenbluth and to turn over all of the information in the possession of this Department to the Prosecuting Attorney for Pierce County, Washington, for such action as he deems proper." Yet we have already published a telegram from Prosecutor Selden, dated October 6, in which in answer to our inquiry he specifically stated that he had not received "all papers from the Department of Justice." Mr. Daugherty gives us no reason to doubt Mr. Selden's word. Moreover, on the face of things the Department was in error in giving out sensational publicity concerning a man whom later it was unable even to bring to trial. It is time that our great bureaucracy should learn that it is chargeable with the honor of the individual citizen, and that when it has sinned against even the humblest it cannot dispose of criticism by lofty denials of the possibility of guilt. *The Nation* stands squarely on the facts presented in last week's article. Until something more substantial than the above general denial entered by the Attorney General is produced, we shall maintain that they constitute an irrefutable and totally damning indictment of the Department of Justice in its relation to the case of Captain Robert Rosenbluth. To prove the contrary why does not the Attorney General unite with Captain Rosenbluth in demanding a Congressional investigation? This action has also been demanded by the Veterans of Foreign Wars in their annual convention at Detroit, September 15.—EDITOR THE NATION.]

Jewish Nationalism

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the House of Esau (*The Nation*, October 5), Mr. Gilbert Seldes takes issue with "the Jew"—meaning apparently the Zionist Jew—for having bartered his experiment in internationalism, unintentional and unhappy though it has been, for a mess of national pottage, "just at the moment when his enemies were powerless to harm him, just when he could have redeemed the centuries of persecution, and just when he might, by a simple gesture of refusal, have taken the place he has always claimed—leading humanity—the Chosen People." Any random day's dispatches in the Yiddish press dispel the notion that the Jew's enemies are now powerless to harm him. It is rather as though the armistice and the Versailles clauses for the protection of minorities had loosened a tidal wave of rape, torture, and massacre, of pogroms big and "little," of "excesses," of expulsions and ever-present fear of expulsion. If the new international order "is actually around the corner," "the Jew" has little inkling of it.

The nationalist Jew dissents, naturally, from the view that he "does not happen to need nationality," which to Mr. Seldes seems to imply all corruptness and unholiness. Jewish religious thought sets up the ideal—for the Jew—of a "kingdom of priests and a holy nation." Judaism is a social rather than a personal religion; and it requires, in the Zionist interpretation at least, all the scope and complexity of national life for the exercise of its full ethical and spiritual range. "The Jew" does indeed aspire to lead humanity to brotherhood by the path of internationalism. But his method is that of demonstrating a righteous commonwealth in action. Nations are a necessary and inevitable part of the scheme of things: they might be used for high and pure purposes where they are debased to something less than human. Just like individuals.

Whether the vague and perhaps undefinable promise of "a Jewish national home in Palestine," held out by imperial Britain in the stress of war propaganda, and "her need for another outpost of influence in the Near East," can really pave the way for Messianic Jewish nationhood may be open to question. "The Jew" will answer that the old, aggressive Hebraic spirit is still powerful enough to override even those impedimenta in the end.

The genius of the international Jew has left a deep and "peculiar" impress upon the commercial, artistic, and intellectual life of many nations; but his example of a godly communal life has no more affected the political morals of Christendom than if the last Jew had died with St. Paul. It is hard to consider seriously the thought that the refusal of the Zionists to accept the bare modicum of nationality for which they had asked would or could have altered the "Peace" of Versailles by a hair. One recalls how the clouds of glory trailed by powerful idealists melted into thin air at the touch of the "peace" makers. Does Mr. Seldes believe that the politically insignificant Jewish people could have prevailed for righteousness where the organized liberals of Europe and America failed so thoroughly?

Perhaps, again, the ethical commonwealth in Palestine, if it can be achieved at all in this dog-eat-dog age, will not yield the nationalist Jew the spiritual leadership he dreams of; yet it would be worth while trying for if only to put him to the test of his own idealism.

By no stretch of fact or of logic does a national center in Palestine carry the corollary of the physical or spiritual withdrawal of the Jews from the midst of the nations. Palestine offers no more than a fragmentary answer to the physical need of hundreds of thousands of war and pogrom victims for a safe domicile. (Other parts of that answer are being sought in Cuba, Mexico, the Argentine, South Africa, wherever and whenever a door stands somewhere ajar.) Palestine will be built up by the daring, idealistic few, now as in the days of Ezra, when a small group returned from Babylon to found the Second Jewish Commonwealth. It is a fact that the bulk of Jewry's millions are only too happy to be allowed to stay put, pitifully eager to give of their best to even the most savage of their persecutors, to forgive and forget and start a clean page.

As a Zionist I am glad to underscore Mr. Seldes's belief in the Jew as too valuable a factor for internationalism to be swallowed up in the chauvinisms let loose by the "great peace" and its makers. But Jewish nationalism has nothing in common with them; and it has everything in common with those who hope, even against the tragedy of Versailles, for a sane and balanced community of nations.

New York, October 6 LOTTA LEVENSOHN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: "To accept it at a moment when one great gesture might have questioned the whole foundation of nationalism was simply betrayal," writes Gilbert Seldes in the article entitled the House of Esau in *The Nation* of October 5.

It seems to me naive thinking to suppose, even for a moment, that the refusal of the Jew to accept a national state would have quickened the destruction of our international order. That kind of logic presupposes that the *modus vivendi* of our

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international order is supplied by the stage, and that our statesmen look up to the artist for guidance. Our international order, which is based on both individual and collective greed, fears neither Jewish rebukes nor Jewish dramatic gestures. The heroism with which the Jew braved death during the Inquisition did not jeopardize the system of intolerance. Intolerance is still the order of the day.

Mr. Seldes says in support of his view that the function of the Jew is to lead an extra-national life: "The two great leaders whom the Jews have given to the world came one before, and one some years after, the Jews were a strong and independent state." But the greatness of Moses lies precisely in the revolutionary idea of an independent national life. The other great leader, Jesus, appeared on the Palestinian soil at a time when the Jews had lost their independence, but not the personal touch with their native land. The national conscience still cherished the thought of an independent Judea.

Brooklyn, October 8 URIAH ENGELMAN

Father Coyle's Death

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In *The Nation* for September 28 there appeared an article by Mr. Gerald Lange entitled Bigotry and Murder in Birmingham. I wish to correct a few inaccuracies in that article. The article states that "Mr. Stephenson says he went to Father Coyle and requested him not to perform the ceremony." I know positively from Father Coyle himself that he never had a word to say to Mr. Stephenson and that he knew him only by sight.

On August 11 Father Coyle spent the afternoon from 2 till 4:45 at my residence and he knew nothing about the marriage plans of Pedro Gussman and Ruth Stephenson until called up on the 'phone at Pratt City and notified that the couple were there at St. Paul's with a license from the Judge of Probate, and wished to be married. Father Coyle then learned for the first time about the marriage, and hence the statement that he accompanied the couple to Bessemer *is not true*.

Father Coyle never carried a weapon of any kind and had the greatest contempt for any individual who did so, except officers on duty.

There *were* eye-witnesses who saw Father Coyle sitting in the swing, and then saw him toppled off therefrom shot—without a chance to defend himself, as the wound straight through the temple shows that he hadn't a chance to rise, thus showing that there was no encounter. A disturbance of any kind on the front porch of St. Paul's would be heard all through the house, as the reverberations resound loudly.

Birmingham, Alabama, October 1 (REV.) JOSEPH A. MALONE

Munitions *vs.* Shoes for Russia

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: *The Nation* made appropriate comment upon the figures over which the New York *Times* placed its headline of September 5: "Russian Trade with U. S. Falls Off." The figures, however, appear somewhat more intelligible, and the *Times* headline even more grotesque, if you refer to the report on "American Russian Trade Since 1918" published by the Department of Commerce in *Commerce Reports*, September 5, 1921.

This report, upon which the *Times* based its dispatch, states, in reference to the period from January to June, 1921, that "it appears that a greater quantity of American goods are going to Soviet Russia than in 1920." According to the report, the total exports from the United States to European Russia in the prewar year, 1913, were $25,965,351. In the first half of 1921 American exports to European Russia were $12,114,062. Thus, in spite of the anti-Soviet propaganda and the lack of all normal facilities for international trade, the exports from the United States to European Russia in the first half of 1921 were almost one-half of the total exports for 1913, and were actually more than half of the total of $22,260,000 in 1914. Subsequent to 1914 American exports to Russia were greatly increased by the munitions traffic. (The figures for 1913 and 1914, it should be noted, include exports to Russian Poland, which are not included in the statistics for 1921.)

It is on the basis of such statistics that the *Times* announces that "Russian Trade with U. S. Falls Off." And it must be admitted that in some respects American trade with the vague area to which the *Commerce Reports* refer as "European Russia" has suffered a loss. In 1919, when the business of counter-revolution and invasion was booming, the United States exported thither $9,600,000 worth of explosives and $2,400,000 worth of firearms. In 1921 this lucrative trade had ceased.

In 1919, while the sale of munitions was so brisk, American exports to European Russia of agricultural mowers and reapers amounted to $500. In the first half of 1921 the United States sent $191,253 worth of mowers and reapers to Russia. In 1920 exports to European Russia of men's shoes amounted to $303,929. In the first six months of 1921, alone, Russia bought $7,118,660 worth of men's shoes from America, which is more than the total for any year from 1915 to 1920 inclusive.

New York, September 9 KENNETH DURANT

A Short and Easy Method with Tyranny

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I want to thank you for your golden deed in giving to your readers the cry of anguish from Leavenworth prison—I allude to the letter of Mr. Harrison George. In the excess of my gratitude I feel like saying to *The Nation*, as Burke said to Fox, "This is the summit." For though *The Nation* live for a thousand years it can never do a nobler deed than to call attention to this intolerable injustice, the most shameful spectacle that blackens the pages of American history.

Mr. Harrison George's letter touching our political prisoners raises the question what can be done to secure the liberation of these victims of war hysteria. To paraphrase Thoreau, if there were ten real men in Congress they could stop the wheels of government till every political prisoner was free. There is no hope of help from that quarter. The Socialists have proposed picketing but it seems that something more heroic is called for. If Socialists will consent to sit at the feet of the greatest of individualists, Thoreau, they will learn a more excellent way. "The revenue of the state is the state," said Burke. Improving on this Thoreau said, "The revenue of the tyrant is the tyrant," and he laid his axe at the root of the tree of evil. If we want to stop all tyrannies, great and small, we must, like Thoreau and Ghandi, quit paying tribute to tyranny.

Xenia, Illinois, September 18 JOHN BASIL BARNHILL

See Page 337, Issue of September 28

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have just received your letter of September 20. Why that paragraph was omitted from the publication, of course I don't know. Possibly a suspicious man might connect the omission with the fact that some persons are engaged in manufacturing building material.

Chicago, September 27 KENESAW MOUNTAIN LANDIS

Alright to the Point

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I received a copy of your paper and would state that it may be alright for people who are accustomed to thinking backwards. Your paper is a disgrace to this country.

New York, October 8 A. C. LUDLUM

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The Arbitrator

[*This section of* The Nation *does not necessarily represent the views of the editors, but is in the nature of an open forum. Communications should be addressed to The Arbitrator, P. O. Box 42, Wall Street Station, New York City.*]

Can Liberals Unite?

AT this time of year the thoughts of every good citizen should turn to politics. He (including the ladies, of course) must decide whether he will vote the Republican ticket because his father did, or the Democratic because he heard the candidate speak, or if he will cast his ballot for the best man regardless of platform, or select the probable winner. These are prevalent reasons, and about the best to be found, for supporting the two old parties. It makes little difference which is preferred. One may favor a league of nations with modifications, and the other may oppose a league of nations unless modified. Fundamentals will remain substantially as at present under either Democrats or Republicans. The welfare of the majority will be lauded; the prestige of the minority will be maintained. Whichever wins, the country will be preserved as it is and it will be the same old world.

To make a new world there must be a new party.

The main thing for the intelligent voter to decide, therefore, is whether the old world is comparatively satisfactory, or if radical changes will produce greater happiness for a greater number. The claim of the conservative is that even if the lot of the average man is hard, which is rarely admitted, the hardships are a natural concomitant of life on earth, and will be accentuated instead of relieved by the adoption of any of the wild schemes of would-be reformers. On the other hand, those who have faith in the world, faith that Mother Earth can support a certain number of children in comfort, are willing to experiment by the inauguration of a new set of political principles designed in all sincerity to reduce to a minimum the inequalities and discomforts of life for the majority under the present system.

There must be a platform that will be supported by the American Federation of Labor, 3,900,000 strong, and by unorganized labor; one that will appeal to Socialists as progressive and to fair-minded capitalists as a judicious compromise. The activities of the various small parties have been beneficial in forcing the old parties to adopt new ideas as public clamor demands them, and it has seemed as if this was the best that could ever be accomplished by progressives. Even so, such efforts would be worth while. But if a party could be formed with a platform so constructed as to justify a belief in increased prosperity for those who work for others, there might be so great a demand for the promised improved living conditions that a combination of the Democrats and Republicans would be lost in the landslide. The platform must be specific and clear, not so radical as to alienate all the investors nor so conservative as to be ignored by the disinherited. Above all, it must depend for its success upon the essential morality of its standards.

Where is such a platform? The Socialist Party has enunciated many valuable principles, but their autocratic methods, and avowed purpose of abolishing capital and private ownership suddenly, are too strenuous to win approval at present. The Single Tax Party proposes to derive all revenue from taxation of land values, but has not been able to convince many liberals that it is advisable to confiscate one form of wealth only on the theory that the burden will be ultimately distributed among all. The Committee of Forty-eight has the right spirit, but was split by the birth of the Farmer-Labor Party; and neither of them appears to arouse enthusiasm.

In order to unite effectively, liberals must all yield a portion of their pet hobbies and agree upon a platform less drastic than some urge and more radical than others want, for the sake of success. It is not a compromise of one's principles to go half way along the right road. Gradual emancipation is preferable to either extreme—standpatism or a revolution. There is nothing un-American in any recommendation for a change in government provided the method proposed is legal. We are fortunate to live in a country where faith in an ideal is compatible with its Constitution.

The following platform is tentatively proposed in the hope that able politicians with social vision will revise it, or prepare a new draft on which all liberals can unite.

Arbitrary Platform

We, the Liberal Party, affirm our confidence in the superiority of American ideals, and assume the responsibility of placing before the country a more democratic standard of government than has heretofore been in operation. We pledge ourselves not only to the maintenance of the best principles of the past, but also to the adoption of all improvements that from time to time favorably impress a majority of our citizens.

Realizing that the three greatest obstacles operating to hinder happiness and prosperity are war, poverty, and injustice, we devote ourselves to their abolition, so far as is humanly possible, and request the assistance of the best minds of the nation toward that end. We appeal for support to all who have at heart the greatest happiness of the greatest number. Instead of operating a political machine for the acquisition of power and spoils, we propose an alliance for the common good, emphasizing cooperation rather than competition. The opinions of the prosperous and educated will be welcomed whenever they contribute solutions of present difficulties, but the living conditions of the manual laborer are more essential for consideration by a political party than increased prosperity for the rich. Reasonable rights of capitalists will be safeguarded, but we hold with Lincoln that labor is superior to capital and deserves higher consideration. If our population were divided between employers and employees, the latter would greatly outnumber the former; and yet when the press reports that "labor conditions are better," it means that labor is plentiful; conditions are better for the employer. This demonstrates the power of the minority to dominate the sentiment of the country. We propose to shift the ability to control affairs from the minority to the majority, and we suggest for that end certain alterations in our present form of government not heretofore attempted.

1. Popular Government

Plebiscites shall be held at regular intervals, and on special occasions, in order to make valid the following governmental acts:

(a) Any increase in the public debt. The people should have the option of refusing to burden future generations with intolerable interest and principal charges. Many debts that have appeared essential to certain lawmakers might better never have been incurred.

(b) Any increase in departmental budgets above 1 per cent annually. This would reduce the bureaucratic extravagance

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which bids fair to overwhelm our people in a few years to come. Extravagance is one of the causes of the high cost of living.

(c) All treaties with foreign countries. We have a right to know what we are pledging to our brothers in foreign lands, before the agreement is made binding. In such a case as free Panama tolls, both sides of the argument should be set before the people. Secret treaties breed war.

(d) Any declaration of war, or conscription of men or of wealth for military purposes, except in case of actual invasion of our territory. Absolute freedom of expression shall be permitted even in a crisis regarding the causes of trouble and existing conditions.

(e) Decisions of the Supreme Court (except unanimous decisions) declaring legislation unconstitutional.

(f) Changes in form or rate of taxation. Congress may submit to the people two alternative plans for meeting the budget. The people can decide.

Elections are decided in a day. With polls more permanent, the procedure of a plebiscite will be simple.

2. Distribution of Wealth

Government ownership, or public control of all natural resources and productive activities, may be the ultimate solution of a more equitable division of wealth, but we believe that such a cataclysmic overthrow of the established economic order is too dangerous a revolutionary measure to be adopted abruptly. Therefore we propose to enact such legislation as will curtail the privilege of the vested interests and afford greater opportunity for emancipation of the workers, without abandoning capitalism or destroying the incentive to productive enterprise, which some say is essential. That incentive would not be lacking if no one had over $10,000 a year and no one less than $2,000. There would still be the inducement to climb to the upper class. Profits for the owners must be less; profits for the employees must be more. Instead of having 65 per cent of the people own 5 per cent of the wealth, they should own 65 per cent. This can be approximated by legislation which does not overthrow the existing social order but gradually distributes the large estates and diminishes the possibility of further depredations by the financiers. Our proposals are as follows:

(a) A tax of 100 per cent on inheritances of over $1,000,000. Permanent income taxes as at present, except that the exemption for married men shall be raised to $3,000. There shall be no indirect taxes that place a burden upon the consumer.

(b) A tax of 50 per cent on all net profits from the sale of real estate and other securities, after deducting carrying charges on a 6 per cent net basis. Legitimate profits encourage trade, so confiscation of all unearned increment is avoided.

(c) Speculation in stocks shall be prohibited immediately, as is all other gambling. Selling short and buying on a margin cause more suffering to the people than lotteries and faro banks. False values are created and no constructive work is accomplished beyond the creation of an active market. Speculation is one of the most flagrant methods of extracting money from the many for the few, and the simple act of stopping it immediately will do more to promote the welfare of the public than any proposal of either of the great parties.

(d) No incorporation shall be permitted for more than the true value of the property. Salaries shall be limited; no stock dividends paid nor bonuses granted.

The abolition of watered stock and of bonus stock and manipulation will relieve the worker from the present burden of earning dividends on fictitious capital, but will not deprive investors of a reasonable return on actual capital invested.

(e) Compulsory cooperation. After January 1, 1923, cooperation shall be compulsory, preferably on the basis that the investors shall receive a fixed return and all profits shall be divided among the managers and other employees, who shall have control of the business so long as they continue to pay regular dividends to the investors. Revaluations must be made and the par value of stock reduced to the actual value of the property. The loss to individuals will not be so great as it has been under private management when New Haven stock declined from 255 to 15 and St. Paul from 199 to 22. Under this cooperative arrangement capital will receive a fixed return on its investment (often more than at present), while labor will be interested in the control and profits and will give its best efforts to the business. There will be no speculative stocks, but it will still be desirable to embark upon business ventures. If a greater return (now 8 per cent in a company actually operating under this plan) is desired, individuals may transact business under their own names and assume the risks avoided under the corporate form.

(f) The Department of Labor shall be operated in the interests of the laboring man, and shall maintain a labor exchange for reduction of unemployment and distribution of labor in the section of the country where most needed at each season. Public Defenders shall be elected, and discrimination in the courts shall be eliminated.

3. Foreign Policy

It shall be the policy of the Government to treat all countries, regardless of size, with the same courtesy and consideration we expect from them. No country shall be brought under our domination by force; their territory and independence shall be as inviolate as our own.

Investments in foreign lands shall not be encouraged or protected by our Government. Ample opportunity exists for development of resources in our own country. In fact, there is frequently said to be a dearth of capital. Economic entanglements lead to friction and possible war.

The services of able financiers will be engaged to devise, if possible, a system of uniform currency throughout the world for the purpose of avoiding the present unjust discriminatory rate of exchange.

4. A Public Forum

Realizing that one of the preeminent causes of failure to properly organize our methods of living lies in the difficulty of obtaining accurate knowledge of actual conditions, we propose to appropriate, with proper compensation, one column on the front page of every issue of every daily newspaper in the country circulating over 25,000, for the use of Public News Expositors, to be elected by the people from each political party; space to be apportioned according to their representation at the last election. In these columns will be given the opportunity of presenting views opposing those of the editor. News cannot thereafter be so easily suppressed or colored, and in the allotments accorded the opposition parties may be printed theories and facts which could not otherwise be brought before the public.

A brief official summary of the deliberations of Congress shall be published weekly and sold for one cent a copy.

Criticisms of this platform and suggestions will be welcomed.

A Correction

The American Constitutional League of Wisconsin calls our attention to a statement by Lenin which indicates that the term "Bolshevik" was adopted because of the "purely accidental fact that at the Brussels-London Conference of 1903 we had a majority."

We are glad to accept the correction of the derivation of the term "Bolsheviki."

[*"The Jolly New World," a pamphlet outlining the liberal viewpoint for conservatives, will be sent free if requested before December 1, 1921. Address* The Arbitrator, *P. O. Box 42, Wall Street Station.*]

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Books

Three Soldiers

Three Soldiers. By John Dos Passos. George H. Doran Company. $2.

THIS novel gives to American literature a document as pitiful and vivid as those which Barbusse and Latzko have been giving to Europe, and incidentally it verifies the testimony of more than one Englishman that war is damned dirty, damned dull, and damned dangerous; but it is first of all a competent work of art, dealing as any work of art must do with a special case, the case of John Andrews, third and most important of three soldiers ruined in France. Chrisfield, the first, achieved murder; Fuselli, the second, achieved syphilis; Andrews, capable of every superior thing, achieved nothing good or bad—he was wasted. John Andrews was not an average soldier any more than Hamlet was an average prince. He was an exquisitely educated youth of Virginia and New York, a musician who promised to be a composer; he was hypersensitive; he was incapable of philosophy or humor in critical places; and he was only twenty-two. He had no more business in the slaughter-house of the Western Front than Hamlet had in a primitive and ruffian court. The truth of the book is the truth for Andrews and not for those coarser souls who may have enjoyed the war and who now declare that Mr. Dos Passos has insulted the A. E. F.

There is a curious parallel between the case of John Andrews and the case of Carol Kennicott. It was clear to readers of "Main Street" that Gopher Prairie was cruel to Carol, and one hated Gopher Prairie; but it was also clear that Carol in a sense was defective, and one found it impossible to pity her all the way. So here. It is clear that the infantry was brutally indifferent to the quality of John Andrews, but it will be clear to many readers that the boy would have been misunderstood as part of any machine. An anarchist of art, he was unsuited for ruthless organization; he would have been impossible in business; he despised America. Hardly a doughboy was able to like as many as half of his officers; John Andrews hated them all, and came in the end to a condition which rendered the mildest of their orders torture. So he deserted, unnecessarily as a matter of fact, for the armistice had been signed and the lapse from discipline of which he refused to await the consequences was one that might have been overlooked; and we leave him in the hands of the military police, destined probably for Fort Leavenworth and a barren twenty years. It is interesting to observe that the author at this point recognizes his hero's limitations as Sinclair Lewis possibly never did his heroine's; another soldier, Henslowe, no less sensitive and poetical than Andrews but more reasonable, tells him plausibly that he is a fool. He must be himself, however; he must literally commit the act which other fine-grained soldiers, including, it is thinkable, Mr. Dos Passos, conceived but suppressed; and the end is tragedy.

Supposing Andrews would have been wiser to bend before the irresistible blind force of the war machine and to bide his time for freedom if he was ever to be free at all, was the army blameless for having broken him?

Of course, the traditional army organization is tolerably well adapted to its end of putting enemy men out of action. It stuffs its recruit into a uniform (a significant word), breaks his will, and fashions him into a tempered blade which any hand can wield. And the great majority of men have always submitted with little resistance to this mechanizing process, because of the release from responsibility and the opportunity for animal satisfaction which it affords. Both these licenses palliate army life for Chrisfield. Involuntarily he lets his hot, quivering lust for the blood of Sergeant Anderson cool in the arms of Crimpette, and returns to quarters satisfactorily submissive to the army hierarchy. Wearied by the demands made on his intelligence by free-lance fighting in the Argonne forest, he returns gratefully to close order. "Chrisfield looked straight ahead of him. He did not feel lonely any more, now that he was marching in the ranks again. His feet beat the ground in time with other feet. He would not have to think whether to go to the right or to the left. He would do as the others did." In recognizing these facts, Mr. Dos Passos separates himself from Utopian pacifists.

It is an ironical fact that he shows how the efficiency of the army might actually have been increased. The War College could learn much from him if it tried; both from his disclosures of vast reservoirs of energy which the army did not tap, and from his display of sources of friction which can be removed. All of the characters in "Three Soldiers," with the one exception of an unassimilated New York Jew, were patriotic at the beginning. They brought from civil life the enthusiasm, the generosity, and the naivete which constitute the charm of American youth. But the army made no attempt to assimilate and utilize these forces. It assumed the character of its citizen soldiers to be identical with that of the professional soldiers of peace time. It taught them the maxims of the establishment: "Ye've got to be hard-boiled to get on in this army"; "If ye once get in wrong in this damned army—it's hell"; "If ye can't get away with it, ye're S. O. L." They suddenly found a new, hard set of cynical rules of conduct substituted for the ethical standards of their homes. In this shifting atmosphere of self-seeking, callousness, and favoritism, the weaker were corrupted and the stronger could achieve nothing better than wearied resignation to anything that might befall them in "this man's army." The lofty ideals for which America was supposed to be fighting were obscured to an extent which would have shocked a civilian eavesdropper at an army mess in France. No one will know how much energy and good-will were thus lost to the national cause.

The case of John Andrews throws in relief the stupidity of this indiscriminate treatment of troops. Had the recruiting officers concerned themselves with other considerations than the height, weight, and general health of their recruits, John Andrews would have been put into some service—there were such—which would have enlisted his interest. He would not have been happy anywhere in the army, but in a select service he would not have been goaded to desert; the army would have been spared a trifling annoyance, Andrews disgrace and entombment, and America one of her not too frequent artists. But he was casually tossed into the infantry, the worst possible situation for a man of his temperament. "His qualification card would have insured this change of service?" In practice, one learned that qualification cards rarely called attention to special cases, although they had their use in assembling details regarding plumbers, or miners, or carpenters. "Why didn't he apply for a transfer?" Commanding officers had a habit of considering such dissatisfied men "indispensable," even if they did not also put them on K. P. for their presumption.

This waste of human material was particularly great in the American army, perhaps, because of the haste of its assembly. The superior officers necessarily thought only in masses of men. The products of the Officers' Training Camps, too often as proud of their commissions as boys of shiny new boots, not infrequently tried to outdo the West Pointers by flaunting their caste privileges and unwonted authority before crusaders for democracy and liberty. The doughboy did not fail to note among his favorite Australians, whose reputation as fighting men no one called in question, a rarity of saluting and an easy mingling of ranks which made only more conspicuous the amateur Prussianism of his own leaders. This Prussianism attained its maximum of absurdity on the streets of Paris, where British and French alike had the good sense to abandon the salute. Shameful and loathsome as it seems, it is nevertheless true that between the hours of four and five in the afternoon, when the *grands boulevards* were packed with soldiers and civilians of all nationalities, an American decoy lieutenant, followed at a few

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paces by four military policemen and an ever-lengthening train of fuming prisoners, used to parade back and forth between the Madeleine and the Porte Saint Denis in search of such enlisted men as might be too much engrossed in gazing into shop windows or scanning theater advertisements and girls to be aware of his passing. In beholding his countrymen thus the laughing-stock of Europe the loyal American knew not whether to laugh or to weep. To the soldier on three days' leave, for whom arrest meant a half hour's saluting of his own image in the mirrors of the Hotel Sainte Anne, and the loss of perhaps two hours of precious time, it was no laughing matter. If the salute was a privilege, as certain silly apologists say, why such pains to enforce it?

Mr. Dos Passos's book is not a chamber of ordinary horrors, and so as a war novel it lacks the appeal that civilians ordinarily expect. By suppressing combat scenes the author shows clearly that his emphasis is intentionally on character as affected by circumstance—particularly by those scenes of crazing monotony behind the front. Involuntary muscles did the thinking for most soldiers during their hour or two of amnesia, going over the top and after, but the training of all training camps could not keep men guarding warehouses months on end fit either in body or in mind. That is why the S. O. S. was more interesting psychologically than the advanced areas. Chrisfield's bodily motions as he fumbles the hand-grenade out of his pocket are only too efficient so far as the fate of the hated man near him is concerned, but he cannot take care of himself when he has time for a little reflection and much *vin rouge*. The same routine, aggravated because Andrews was more sensitive than Chrisfield, leads to Andrews's ruin.

Artistically the book is at its best, and that is fine indeed, in the dialogue. It is outrageously true—so far as it goes. The words "have a spit on them," as the Irish say. But they do not go nearly so far as actual speech did. Versatility, imagination, skill in coining new, odd, breath-taking combinations of words yanked from the subsewers of centuries reached in the army a peak of accomplishment truly awesome. When the informed reader lingers along these pages he marvels at the author's restraint, the almost coy reticence of dialogue, the purity of vocabulary. Certain persons will be grateful that here at last is a faithful transcript of the speech of the American army, native, humorous, and imaginative in its own way, ungrammatical usually, strong always. There are in it overtones of gentleness, unselfishness, and sentiment known to those who were there, for these speeches are alive, they carry the very intonation of voice and the very facial expression of the originals; we unconsciously cock the attentive head a little to hear again these multitudinous cusses and ribaldries.

Unfortunately not so much can be said in praise of the purely descriptive parts. The author responds immediately to pictorial beauty. He has set down with accuracy, unmarred by hostility of the common sort, the alluring, the amiable, the irritating sides of French character and scenery. But he suffers from some uncertainty in proportioning and placing the picture backgrounds. He is betrayed by an obvious love of "rather mere words," preciousness. It is all very well for Mr. Dos Passos to see a French village square on a rainy night tricked out in Whistler effects, and even to heighten the scene with his own emotions, but we object when he suggests that Fuselli saw and felt that too. There are, however, exceptions, as in the settings against which Andrews is projected.

When it comes to speaking of the numerous minor characters, their vividness, their downright Americanness, the reviewer's main care must be to save himself from incoherent babbling praise. They re-create the A. E. F. They are as large as life, or, in some cases, as small. What Mr. Dos Passos has put down in character-drawing is true and not burlesque. There were of course worthy Y. M. C. A. men and chaplains eager to understand the lower ranks; but that was a task impossible for any civilian in the army. If Mr. Dos Passos thought fit not to idealize his civilians, perhaps it was merely in an attempt, futile enough, to redress slightly the balance of truth and fiction which was hopelessly, idiotically disturbed by wartime magazines, papers, and books. And if the civilian in the army, or with it, could not understand, what of the men at home?

It was the inability of the honest citizen to share the point of view of the returned soldier that brought about that cynically amused silence on war subjects which confused, saddened, and sometimes frightened relatives and neighbors. The soldier was frequently called upon to exercise a wide charity toward people "on the outside," even when they suspected him of a vague sort of disloyalty. As Mr. Dos Passos makes unmistakably clear, disloyalty certainly was not one of the diseases in the American army, and it is to be hoped that the best sort of American, one hundred per cent of him, will try to appreciate what a finely touched picture of loyalty this novel presents. Not the easily recognizable, chest-slapping variety, but one wholly safe and convincing, the more so for not being talkative. The episodes in which Eisenstein and the deserters appear should be conclusive proof of this. It is not at all incompatible with the sort of loyalty shown by Congress in investigating the career of "Hard-Boiled" Smith and convicting him, or with the reactions to the military in Roosevelt's recently published diary, Sir Philip Gibbs's books, and Pierrefeu's "G. Q. G." To tie these names and books together and sink them *spurlos* would seem nothing short of torpedoing all the Allies. But the uninitiated reader cannot believe that "Now It Can Be Told" is true, or that "Three Soldiers" is true. Such books are too true. They stun one into insensibility, as the war did.

"Well, it ain't no use crabbin'."

"No, onct we git home an' folks know the way we've been treated, there'll be a great ole investigation. I can tell you that."

If you read this you must recognize the not uncertain and flattering trust which the soldiers had in the essential kindliness and justice of their countrymen at home. The fate of that fond trust, as a matter of fact, remains a sinister obstacle between civilian and ex-doughboy. Very shortly after his return it became clear to the service man that any explanation of what he thought and felt was quite useless—that none but the enlisted man could ever understand.

American tourists doing Chateau-Thierry, the "Oregon Forest," and Saint Mihiel are likely to be substantial persons, little given to belief in ghosts. If they were, they would waste clear away with sorrow, horror, and indignation at words which beyond a doubt are still humming along the wind over there:

Not all has yet been told.

THREE OTHER SOLDIERS *

Women of Wit

Poems. By Marianne Moore. London: The Egoist Press.
The Lamp and the Bell. A Drama in Five Acts. By Edna St. Vincent Millay. Frank Shay. $1.25.
Second April. Edna St. Vincent Millay. Mitchell Kennerley. $2.
The Contemplative Quarry and the Man with a Hammer. By Anna Wickham. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $1.75.

FOR better or for worse these women have contracted marriages with wit, have committed themselves to careers of brains. Seventeenth-century England, where all of the three would have been at home, would have prized them well. Twentieth-century England and America will not do badly to accept their poetry now for better or for worse, since by many a sign it is here to stay a while; almost certainly more of its sort remains to be written and read. It is independent, critical, and keen, a product oftener of the faculties than of the nerves and heart; it is feminine; it is fearless; it is fresh.

*The writers of this review each served more than a year and a half in the American army; they represent both enlisted and commissioned ranks; their experience embraced cantonments in the United States, Brest, Paris, and the zone of advance.

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Not that it is all alike. Marianne Moore, one admits right away, must be taken for worse. She wedded wit, but after divorces from beauty and sense. Her manners are those of the absurder coteries, her fastidiousness is that of the insufferable highbrows. She wrote some pieces for Alfred Kreymborg's "Others" which made that anthology difficult to take seriously, and in the present volume she quite smothers out an occasional passage of distinction with verbiage like this:

> Those
> various sounds consistently indistinct, like intermingled
> echoes
> struck from thin glass successively at random—the
> inflection disguised: your hair, the tails of two
> fighting-cocks head to head in stone—like
> sculptured scimitars re-
> peating the curve of your ears in reverse order: your
> eyes, flowers of ice.

There will be other Marianne Moores, perhaps, as there were other Cowleys and Crashaws and Cartwights in the century of Jonson and Donne. They can and will be endured.

The improvement between Miss Millay's first volume of serious poems and her last is remarkable because it has been effected through deliberate exercise of the wits. There never has been any doubt that Miss Millay was a fine poet, but "Renascence" in 1917 had soft spots—a little obscurity, a little sentimentality, a little pose. That "Second April" has virtually none of those things cannot be accounted for merely by the fact that Miss Millay is four years older; she has lived those years brightly and clearly, has done brisk, profitable labor. Her one-act play, "Aria Da Capo," was essentially serious, but it was saved from solemnity by a harlequin-cloak of charming, irresponsible banter which she flung completely around it. Her pamphlet of poems last year, "A Few Figs from Thistles," had sparkle in its passion, even a little smartness. "The Lamp and the Bell," a tragedy, will be best remembered as a delicate riot of gay asides and impeccable metaphors, Elizabethan to the bottom yet not in the least derivative; it bubbles pure poetry. No wonder, then, that "Second April" is intelligent and acceptable; though nothing, of course, can precisely explain its poise, its temper, its sensitive music, and its general justness of feeling. In it sings the voice of a Cavalier for the moment subdued:

> My heart is what it was before,
> A house where people come and go;
> But it is winter with your love,
> The sashes are beset with snow.
>
> I light the lamp and lay the cloth,
> I blow the coals to blaze again;
> But it is winter with your love,
> The frost is thick upon the pane.
>
> I know a winter when it comes:
> The leaves are listless on the boughs;
> I watched your love a little while,
> And brought my plants into the house.
>
> I water them and turn them south,
> I snap the dead brown from the stem;
> But it is winter with your love——
> I only tend and water them.
>
> There was a time I stood and watched
> The small, ill-natured sparrows' fray;
> I loved the beggar that I fed,
> I cared for what he had to say.
>
> I stood and watched him out of sight;
> Today I reach around the door
> And set a bowl upon the step;
> My heart is what it was before.
>
> But it is winter with your love;
> I scatter crumbs upon the sill,
> And close the window—and the birds
> May take or leave them, as they will.

Anna Wickham's book is a highly valuable document both on poetry and on woman. It is the work of an inspired metaphysician, one of England's most honest and inviting minds today, a very contemporary John Donne absorbed to the soul in what she rebelliously, painfully believes and sees. She invents her own curiously uneven, potent rhythms; she rejects no pungent metaphor because it stinks or stings; when she likes she rhymes very cunningly, or misrhymes, or rhymes not at all:

> Rhymed verse is a wide net
> Through which many subtleties escape.
> Nor would I take it to capture a strong thing,
> Such as a whale.

Her demon is unrest; her muses instead of singing to her whip her to intellectual appetite and artistic execution. She is the growing, aching mind of woman asking for hunger that she may think and peace that she may create. She gives herself in love, she is willing to kiss until she is blind; but

> There is the sexless part of me that is my mind.

She would be lonely occasionally, and fast

> In still, kind, perfect night.

Man in the long run she would have more frank—not "sane and solemn," "merciless as a beast," chaste, decorous, possessive, but openly and freely enjoying her as she openly and freely enjoys him. The furtive knight, the slothful husband in the dark, she would make over sometimes into the noon-day lover with the kindness and courtesy that human beings are so proud to command:

> Kiss me sometimes in the light.
> Women have body's pain of body's love.
> Let me have flowers sometimes, and always joy.
> And sometimes let me take your hand and kiss it honestly.

The appeal of such a book is great because it is both passionate and ascetic, and because its protests are intense without being shrill. Its author's voice is low, an excellent thing in prophetesses. Thinking will soonest save her, and she perpetually thinks.

> My love is male and proper-man
> And what he'd have he'd get by chase,
> So I must cheat as women can
> And keep my love from off my face.
> 'Tis folly to my dawning, thrifty thought
> That I must run, who in the end am caught.

Who else would have thought of "thrifty"? Only a few books of recent poetry are so continuously interesting as Anna Wickham's, and scarcely any is so civilizing.

MARK VAN DOREN

Political Metaphysic

The Foundations of Sovereignty and Other Essays. By Harold J. Laski. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.50.

MR. LASKI has brought together eight essays written on divers occasions and has prefaced them by a new study which gives the title to the volume. Four of the papers are legal in character. These deal with the responsibility of the state, the personality of associations, the early history of the corporation in England, and the doctrine of vicarious liability. One of the studies is an excursion into administrative law, an analysis of public work and geographical districts. The remainder treat of politics in terms of philosophy. A common thesis unites them all: the unified and sovereign state is morally inadequate and administratively inefficient, and for this political monster we must substitute a pluralistic state which offers co-

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ordination for hierarchical structure. A common purpose runs through the most technical pages. It is a desire to help fix the new social philosophy on firmer historical foundations.

It goes without saying that the political philosophers will welcome Mr. Laski's book. Students of law who know and love their Pollock and Maitland will fairly revel in his illuminating inquiry into the early history of the corporation. It is carefully documented. It is full of brilliant suggestions and it is written in a playful style that recalls Maitland himself. One may be pardoned the opinion that Mr. Laski is at his best when he is dealing with the concrete stuff of the law. In political philosophy he is always making trouble for the artists in logomachy, and in fact he takes them a bit too seriously. He seems to have read everything, for his allusions fairly make one's head swim; he can make Thomas Aquinas and Graham Wallas bring grist to his mill with a facility that is positively astounding. Indeed, it takes a person with a great deal more penetration than the present reviewer to see some of the relations in political metaphysic which Mr. Laski announces as discovered and explored.

Still, anyone who quarrels with Mr. Laski must quarrel with the whole army of philosophers from Locke to Spencer. Take for example the essay on the foundations of sovereignty. It is a study of what men have thought about the state. The data are the writings of Dante, Ockham, Marsiglio, Bodin, Rousseau, and all the loquacious schoolmen who have been engaged in defending something that they seldom if ever mentioned. Mr. Laski is not deceived by their persistent abuse of "the language habit." He knows what it is about, for he says on page 29: "What the orthodox theory of sovereignty has done is to coerce them [the members of the state] into an unity, and thereby to place itself at the disposal of the social group which, at any given historic moment, happens to dominate the life of the state." Again he remarks that "the control of political power in the modern state by a small group of property-owners must mean at the bottom that the motives to effort upon which reliance is based will be ineffective so soon as the majority of men see through the façade by which they are screened." And still again he says: "The political philosopher is concerned with the discovery of motives, the measure of wills, the balance of interests. . . . He will in fact be driven to the perception that, politically, there is no such thing as sovereignty at all." Such reflections scattered through the book show clearly that Mr. Laski has been behind the scenes.

Then why should he deal so extensively and kindly with the political philosophers who either have not known what it was all about or for very good reasons have not seen fit to mention it? Mr. Laski is fully aware of the fact that Aristotle did not spend much time with the philosophers except to refute them, that he utterly ignored the metaphysic of Athenian law, and that he went straight to the data of actual politics. If Mr. Laski would follow his own light, which is deep-penetrating, and come to grips with the main issue, he could blow the political dust heaps of Oxford and Cambridge sky-high. Many of us hope that he will take authorities less seriously and the stuff of politics more seriously.

CHARLES A. BEARD

Artists and Business Men

Shallow Soil. By Knut Hamsun. Translated from the Norwegian by Carl Christian Hyllested. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

"SHALLOW SOIL" is not one of Hamsun's great books. It does not rank with the painfully subjective "Hunger" or with that glorious epic of the lowly earth "Growth of the Soil." But as a study of life in Christiania during the early nineties, and as illustrative of tendencies and powers which have come to fruition in Hamsun's later works, it is of great interest. It is a satiric challenge to the devotees of a shallow culture and a specious gentility, who consider themselves immensely superior to mere workers and men of business. On its negative side the book is successful. The representatives of "culture," the writers and artists, are reduced to trivial proportions. But as the minikin Irgens and Ojen, Paulsberg the novelist, and the painter Milde sink from view, the practical men, Tidemand and Henriksen, somehow fail to rise. The positive intent of the book is not realized. We feel that Hamsun is packing his jury for "the man who does things."

The commonplace "culture" which lies decaying in Norwegian streets, even as it did in Nietszche's Germany, fares badly in "Shallow Soil." These artists, these cultured people, may be very fine and all that, says Hamsun in effect, but they may also have mean aspirations, smugness, stupidity, the shallowness that protects them from any real emotional experience coupled with an infinite capacity for assuming sentimental attitudes; while your business man, your ordinary, vulgar, workaday person, may have his "absurd loves, unbounded desires, wild aspirations for a brilliant and noble life, deceptions, sorrows." "But, so help me, there is a difference between poets and peasants, I should think!" says Milde, the artist, to the enigmatic vagabond, Coldevin, Hamsun's mouthpiece. It is evident that Coldevin does not think there is a difference; that Hamsun himself does not think so.

The plot of "Shallow Soil" is carefully knit. The double "turning" which involves the redemption of Hanka, the ruin of Aagot, and the suicide of Henriksen is convincingly prepared. The style is fresh and the story firm. Here and there we get flashes of Hamsun's fiendish knowledge of neurotic types. The characters are brilliant and consistent—Aagot with her weakness and her girlish charm; Hanka, returning shyly to her husband after defeats in Bohemia; Irgens, vain, selfish, with the soul of a poetic wasp; Coldevin, the shabby tutor, the "phenomenon" who cares more for honest worth than for silk-lined culture.

As a picture of Christiania's Bohemia in the nineties, the book has been called journalistic by Norwegian critics. But the charge of journalism is always difficult to sustain against any work having pretensions to artistic form. Against Hamsun it is particularly difficult. Whether or not a work is journalistic is a matter which usually has to be tried out in the "long run" of time. The life satirized in "Shallow Soil" is a good deal like that of our own, or any other, Bohemia. Who that knows poets has not met Ojen, prepared to recite his verses on the slightest provocation; Irgens and Milde, the knowing novelist Paulsberg, and the busy journalist Gregersen, with their little biting jealousies and their accommodating little back-scratchings? And then there is the parliamentary "situation," uppermost as a topic of conversation with the artistic clique. No specific situation is mentioned, though of course it is part of the wrangles between Norway and Sweden. The "situation" is said to look bright, and fine phrases are bandied about; then it becomes dubious, then hopeless. The leaders are firm, they begin to show signs of vacillation, they turn traitors altogether. Newspaper articles are written showing what is to be done. Fine words, fine gestures, eloquent attitudes! And in the end "it comes to this, that Parliament had been dissolved without having said the deciding word, without having said anything, in fact." This comes perilously near the truth about the actions of political bodies, anywhere on earth. If "Shallow Soil" is journalism, it is very close to that universal journalism which is art.

HOLGER CAHILL

Books in Brief

THE story in Percy MacKaye's new poem, "Dogtown Common" (Macmillan), was neither to be saved nor slain by meter, made nor ruined by rhyme. It was old New England witchcraft business, and poet-proof; so it lives through Mr. MacKaye. But if ever a tale was pounced upon, dragged by the hair, stood up weeping, caressed and cuffed and tumbled

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into brambles, it was this. The rhymes are frenzically forced; the meter swaggers, yet is nil; the phrasing is puffed and packed and contorted like none since Edward Benlowes; and psychological commentary is slammed in by a clumsy hand. John Masefield, whose blemishes Mr. MacKaye obviously emulates, often has triumphed in spite of those blemishes—indeed occasionally with their help; Mr. MacKaye loses everything but his story, which pants to an independent end.

The Drama

Pity and Terror

THE night of Monday, October 10, was a memorable one in the history both of the American stage and of the American drama. It brought us Clemence Dane's "A Bill of Divorcement" (George M. Cohan's Theater), Karl Schönherr's "Children's Tragedy" (Greenwich Village Theater), and Arthur Richman's "Ambush" (Garrick Theater). The morning and afternoon of October 11 were far less happy moments in the progress of American dramatic criticism. The most distinguished of our evening papers observed that Schönherr's "Kindertragödie" was "not pleasant to contemplate" and that "Ambush" has a "miserable end." Another contemporary wondered, in regard to "Ambush," whether it was necessary for the American drama "to go through the drab and dispiriting Manchester stage"; a third declared of the protagonist of that play that "nobody loves a weakling." It is clear that American criticism cannot lead or guide our creative life when it is necessary to remind its busiest and most vocal practitioners of so elementary a thing as Aristotle's remark that "we contemplate with pleasure, and with the more pleasure the more exactly they are imitated, such objects as, if real, we could not see without pain." The reviewers made a great deal of the imperfect acting in Mr. Arnold Daly's production of "The Children's Tragedy." It is indeed faulty enough. They made nothing of that magnificent integrity and courage of his which returns again and again to an attack upon our dramatic "forts of folly" and now brings us the pure, severe, unfaltering beauty, the dread and depth of Schönherr's little masterpiece. But I must leave a detailed account of that play and its production for another time. The American drama is closer to us and more important. And we have an American tragedy at last. We have Arthur Richman's "Ambush."

The character of tragic fatality shifts from age to age with the shifting views that men hold concerning the nature of the universe and their destiny in it. The arbitrariness of the gods yields to the will and law of God, and that, in its turn, yields to the immanent laws of heredity and the cruelties of the social order. But there is a third and, closely considered, an even profounder because less debatable source of tragic fatality. It is that which arises from the sheer and unfathomable diversities of human character as given. Here there is no place for theoretic subtlety and the dramatic idea cannot be invalidated by discoveries in medicine or revolutions in society. The appeal is purely to human experience. And if that appeal is broad and deep enough the dramatic idea is safe amid whatever change of doctrines or institutions may come to pass. Such is the appeal which Mr. Richman has made. And he has made it with a power and poignancy, an honesty of mind, a richness of spiritual circumstance and a frugality in the use of external device that are plainly unique and plainly epoch-making in the history of the American drama.

I not only see Walter Nichols, the clerk who lives in Jersey City; I see his story, as Mr. Richman would have us see it, through Nichols's eyes. The man is not extraordinarily intelligent and not at all articulate. He thinks he is old-fashioned, and that word helps him out in a blundering way. But he is old-fashioned only as all depth and fineness and integrity seems to rawness and shallowness, and as the tempered and circumspect will must always seem to those who wreak their desires unreflectingly upon the world. Walter Nichols is in truth, as that reviewer remarked, weak. He is weak because the gods themselves, in Schiller's old saying, fight in vain against vulgarity of the soul. He is not only weak. He is purblind. He has lived with his wife Harriet for nearly twenty years and has not known her. He is, in the deeper sense, not capable of knowing her. Even at the end of the withering revelations which the action chronicles, even in the lowest depth of that abasement and despair into which she has thrust him, he does not know her from within. He is weak. The ideal kills. The mind that considers all things and weighs the issues of life delicately and distrusts brutal conclusions and fears to act because it fears that action may be an affront or a wound—that mind is weak in battling with the children of the world and is unpractical and unsuccessful and is a fool's mind according to the judgment of streets and market-places. Often, as in the case of Walter Nichols, it hesitates to resist evil because it does not recognize that evil and is overcome. But it is overcome only outwardly. In his extreme misery and shame Walter Nichols remains himself, bearing an inner witness to all he is forced to abandon.

The ruthless will that ensnares and drags him down is fitly embodied in two women, his wife and daughter. For it is true, however commonplace, that in woman volition is directer and more elementary in every direction than in man. The will of woman suffers more resignedly but also acts more relentlessly. To Harriet Nichols and to Margaret, the daughter, life has narrowed itself to the mere absence of ease and pleasure and of mean success. They repeat quite glibly and honestly the formulas of their moral order. And they try to observe—the older woman more than the younger—a certain prudence and to stay, as Mr. Richman points out with terrible irony, on this side of such degradation as may involve suffering and want. But the world is mere food for the voracity of their desires. Only because, until the last possible moment, they shield those desires behind the conventional forms of life, are they able to deceive and scheme and conquer. Had they been frank they would have been at once less ignoble and less destructive. They lie in the ambush of respectability and conventionality. The ideal threatens to balk their desires. They leap forth and destroy. Thus the dramatic idea is here identical with the very forces that make life. A play in which that identity is established is tragedy.

The acting is beautiful rather than faultless. Mr. Frank Reicher projects all the spiritual realities of Walter Nichols; the physical embodiment is a little over-subtle, a little too ripe in expressiveness of feature and gesture for even this American. Miss Jane Wheatly and Miss Florence Eldridge act with far less intelligence and insight but with a rougher and exacter verisimilitude. The minor parts are, without exception, admirably done, and both in its choice of a play and the manner of that play's production the Theater Guild upholds its standards as the first theatrical organization among us.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

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International Relations Section

Siberia and the Arms Conference

THE request of the Far Eastern Republic for representation at the Armaments Conference was presented to the American Legation at Peking on September 8 for transmission to Secretary of State Hughes.

MR. SECRETARY:

I have the honor to inform you that the people and the Government of the Far Eastern Republic are aware that on the initiative of the Honorable the President of the United States a conference of the Powers will assemble on the 11th of November in the city of Washington to discuss matters appertaining to the limitation of armaments and with regard to the Far East and the Pacific.

I have already had the honor to inform you, Mr. Secretary, that an independent government has been established in the Russian Far East under the name of the Far Eastern Republic. The Far Eastern Republic has been established on a true democratic basis, and authority in it is exercised by a Government elected by the Constituent Assembly of the whole of the Russian Far East. The Government and the people of the Far Eastern Republic desire sincerely and unceasingly to live at peace and in friendly relations with other peoples and are anxious to enter into close commercial and diplomatic relations with other countries. The Government of the Far Eastern Republic is ready to associate itself in the commercial and business life of other nations. The Far Eastern Republic having established as an inviolable principle the recognition of private property and freedom of trade, is ready to extend its full assistance to all foreign interests participating in the exploitation of the immense wealth of its territory.

I conceive that it is unnecessary to point out that the geographical position of the Far Eastern Republic and its extensive coast line on the Pacific fully entitle the Republic to participation in the settlement of all questions relative to the Far East and to the Pacific. The necessity for the exertion of every effort to maintain peace on the Pacific, which is the only region in which great conflicts are likely to arise in the future, and the earnest desire for peace and friendship entertained by the Russian people of the Far East, whose territory has only recently been the scene of the military activity of the Powers, are further arguments for the participation of the Far Eastern Republic in the Conference. This participation is essential to that peaceful issue that the Conference is contriving. There can be no doubt that the voice of the Government, on behalf of which I address you, Mr. Secretary, is sufficiently authoritative and expresses the will of the entire people of the Russian Far East, having been elected by the Constituent Assembly and having, in the short period of its existence, become strong and capable of defending the interests of the people.

The people of the Russian Far East consider it indisputable that they have an interest in the settlement of the different questions that will be discussed at the Conference not less than that of any other Power. The Far Eastern Republic cannot allow that most important matters, touching upon many points of general interest, should be decided without its participation; and its Government cannot either assume any responsibility for any of the decisions or undertake their practical application. The Government of the Far Eastern Republic will not accept decisions on matters touching upon the interests of the Far Eastern Republic and will in every possible way oppose the open violation of the sovereign rights of the nation.

We are firmly convinced that the American Government in calling the Conference has been guided by a sincere intention to effect a peaceful solution of the several problems at issue, and believe that the American Government understands that a peaceful settlement of such a question as that of Siberia is possible only through the participation and consent of the Siberian population, whose voice must be heard and whose interests must be represented at the Conference by a delegation from the Far Eastern Republic.

I venture to hope, Mr. Secretary, that no considerations of a formal nature will prevent you from acting in accordance with the principles of justice and good-will as well as in the true interest of the Conference, which has undertaken a task the settlement of which depends upon the agreement reached between all the parties interested.

I. L. YOURIN,
Minister of Foreign Affairs
of the Far Eastern Republic.

Soviet Russia's Protest

THE attitude of the Russian Soviet Government on the Washington Conference is expressed in the following note addressed by M. Chicherin, People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs, to Dr. Yen, Minister of Foreign Affairs of China. It was forwarded with a covering letter on August 17 by Mr. Agarev, Chairman of the Mission of the Far Eastern Republic to China.

MONSIEUR LE MINISTRE,

The Russian Government learns from foreign press reports that a conference of the Powers having territories bordering on the Pacific will be held shortly at Washington. The Russian Government, as a Power with territory on the Pacific, can only express its extreme surprise at learning that there should exist the project of calling such a conference without its participation. Regardless of the fact that the Russian Republic and the Far Eastern Republic possess territories on the shores of the Pacific, the Powers which have taken the decision to meet at Washington have neglected to extend an invitation to the Russian Republic and that of the Far East. The Powers in question have declared that they will themselves take into consideration the interests of Russia without her participation, reserving to themselves an invitation for a representative of some new Russian government that may replace the present government to accede to the resolutions and agreements which will be adopted at this Conference.

The Russian Government cannot in any case consent to give to anyone the right to speak for it, especially since the ostracism with which it has been treated is only aimed at the government of workmen and peasants, and any counter-revolutionary government which might replace the present government would take no care for their interests.

Such an attitude on the part of the aforesaid Powers can only be interpreted as clearly favorable to the Russian counter-revolution and as a new manifestation of the system of intervention.

The Russian Government protests strongly against its exclusion from such a conference, which concerns Russia directly and against any intention on the part of any Power whatever to take decisions concerning the Pacific without the knowledge of Russia.

The Russian Government declares that it will not recognize any decisions taken by the Conference in question since the Conference will meet without Russian participation. The Russian Government, not taking part in the Conference, will reserve, with regard to all decisions taken thereby whatever they may be, full liberty of action upon all matters which shall be touched upon; it will exercise its liberty of action on all occasions and by all means that shall appear opportune.

The Russian Government will find means to frustrate every project the realization of which would be hostile to Russia, or would not be in accordance with her views. Russia believes

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herself to be in a position to declare that the decisions of this Conference will in fact be null and without effect in the absence and by the non-participation of one of the principal parties interested.

The Russian Government is also constrained to declare on this occasion that it cannot regard the preference accorded by the aforesaid governments to the counter-revolutionary governments which would replace it other than as an hostile act directed against itself and against the workmen and peasants of Russia whose will it represents.

There has also come to the notice of the Russian Government a general question, that of disarmament or the diminution of taxes which crush down the workers of all countries. The Russian Government considers it necessary to know what preliminary guaranties could be given that this disarmament will be a reality, considering that the possibility of such guaranties appears to the Russian Government sufficiently doubtful, however sympathetic the Russian Government may be with the idea of disarmament. Disarmament is even, according to the Russian Government, one of the actual consequences of the social changes in Russia and one to which those changes ought to lead. Nevertheless, in the absence of the Russian Government, no international deliberation on this subject can have any other result than the ignoring by Russia of any decisions that may be taken, from which the Russian Government, not having been a party thereto, will remain aloof.

Any policy directed toward excluding Russia from the joint resolutions of the Powers on questions touching Russia very closely and seeking to find favorable means for smoothing the conflicts which trouble the world at the present time can only aggravate the situation and complicate it with new difficulties.

CHICHERIN,
People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs
of the Russian Soviet Federated Republic.

The Position of the United States

SECRETARY HUGHES'S reply to the note from the Far Eastern Republic, published on September 19, is in effect also a reply to the contentions of the Russian Soviet Government and states plainly the attitude of the Government of the United States toward the whole Russian problem.

The American Legation at Peking received recently from an agent of the so-called Far Eastern Republic a request that representatives thereof should be admitted to the approaching Conference on Limitation of Armament, at which questions affecting the Far East will also be discussed.

As the so-called Far Eastern Republic has not been recognized by the Government of the United States, nor by the other governments of the world, no formal reply has been made to this communication, but the American Minister at Peking has been instructed to convey to the agent of the Far Eastern Republic informal observations in the following sense:

In the absence of a single recognized Russian Government the protection of legitimate Russian interests must devolve as a moral trusteeship on the whole Conference. It is regrettable that the Conference, for reasons quite beyond the control of the participating Powers, is to be deprived of the advantage of Russian cooperation in its deliberations, but it is not to be conceived that the Conference will take decisions prejudicial to legitimate Russian interests or which would in any manner violate Russian rights. It is the hope and expectation of the Government of the United States that the Conference will establish general principles of international action which will deserve and have the support of the people of Eastern Siberia and of all Russia by reason of their justice and efficacy in the settlement of outstanding difficulties.

The New Order in Mongolia

IN the following edict, published at Chita on September 1, the old government of Mongolia announces its abdication in favor of the Provisional People's Revolutionary Government which has been cooperating with the Russian Soviet Government and the Far Eastern Republic in the successful campaign against the troops of Baron Ungern. The translation printed below, published by the Dalta News Agency, was made from a Russian translation of the Mongolian original.

To the Provisional People's Revolutionary Government of Mongolia from the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the old Government of Mongolia.

In the third year we, Mongolians, under the pressure of the circumstances of the times, have lost our rights of autonomous government to the benefit of Chinese, the autocratic reactionaries. Last year an officer of the Russian White party, Baron Ungern, with his forces invaded Mongolian territory, mobilized Mongolian soldiers, and thus reinforcing himself gave battle and drove out from Urga the Chinese "hamins"—officers and soldiers.

In accordance with the declaration of Baron Ungern of the need of reestablishing the autonomous government by all princes and influential people, the latter, after a discussion of this question, put the Boghdi Khan on the precious throne and created the yamen of internal affairs and all the other five yamens.

In view of the fact that Baron Ungern with his forces left for the north, and in view of the weakness of our forces and the lack of armament, and also in view of the possibility of an assault by Chinese reactionaries, as early as last year an appeal for assistance was made to foreign Powers by the Boghdi Khan and many Wangs and Khans who, obtaining such assistance, established at Kiabta a people's government, which mobilized model forces, and having driven out the ghamens, laid the foundation of the state of Mongolia, fortifying the nation, and improving the conditions of masses. Urga, the capital, was occupied on the 1st, in the second moon.

After the occupation of Urga the People's Government, together with the officials of our five (old) ministries, opened free discussions, which resulted in resolving to establish immediately a new people's government in accord with the requirements of the times and the progress of the people, leaving the Boghdi Khan on the precious throne and handing all seals and documents of all ministries to the new People's Government. This resolution was reported to the Boghdi Khan, who sanctioned it, and on fifth day of the sixth moon at a joint conference the handing over of the seals and documents of the ministry of interior affairs and the rest of the ministries to the chairman and officials of the People's Government takes place. The Provisional People's Revolutionary Government of Mongolia is hereby informed of the aforesaid for its consideration in accepting the power, and at the same time the public in all localities is being informed to this effect.

By many established on the 5th day of the 6th moon, 11th year.

This rather unusual act of abdication is made more intelligible by the following dispatch printed in the London *Times* of September 23 from its correspondent at Peking.

Two months ago Baron Ungern, with the White Russian band which captured Urga in February, sought to invade the Far Eastern Republic [of Chita] and was smashed at Kiakhta, not by the Chita troops, but by the regular Red Army from Irkutsk, operating under orders from Moscow. The remnant of Baron Ungern's force was dispersed in Mongolia, and a Japanese detachment escaped eastward.

The Red Army then occupied Urga, where a Red Mongol Government was installed. The Premier and Foreign Minister

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is a *ci-devant* Lama, formerly teacher at a Russian school, and the Minister of War is a local butcher. In each department are Buriat nominees of Irkutsk who advise measures consonant with the best bolshevist practice. The Hutukhtu remains as the spiritual head, but has no political power.

Only 2,000 Russian troops remain, and these are sufficient with the local revolutionaries to maintain the power of the Red Government. The Government professes communism, and confiscates huge numbers of horses and cattle belonging to the princes, who, of course, bitterly oppose the new regime. Enormous quantities of rifles, machine-guns, and ammunition have been imported and paid for with the confiscated property of the princes. It would appear that Moscow regards Mongolia as a province of Russia.

Urga is peaceful and orderly, and the Reds conduct themselves reasonably except with regard to confiscations. Foreigners and their trade are respected. The revolutionaries declare their intention of abolishing the state religion, and will not allow another Hutukhtu after the present one has drunk himself to death. * * *

Chang Tso-Lin, who was liberally supplied with funds by the Chinese Government in order to recover Mongolia, has pocketed the money and given up the expedition. Mongolia looks as if it has been totally lost to China. Further trouble is inevitable, for the nomad princes, whose flocks and herds are being forcibly taken, are bound to endeavor to reassert themselves.

Gold in the Far East

THE following laws of the Far Eastern Republic governing the gold-bearing areas of Eastern Siberia have been received from the Dalta News Agency under date of Peking, July 29. The Constitution of the Republic was printed in the International Relations Section on September 14.

In accordance with Art. 43 of the Constitution of the Republic, the Government of the F. E. R., annulling the old laws, has declared:

1. All gold-bearing areas in the territory of the F. E. R. under exploitation or otherwise, as well as the former imperial gold-bearing areas in Nerchinsk district, are hereby declared the property of the Republic.

2. All rights to the ownership and exploitation of areas mentioned in Art. 1, under agreements and titles granted previous to promulgation of this law, shall be null and void within three months from June 15, 1921, the date of promulgation of this law.

3. The right of exploitation of gold-bearing areas granted under the "Rules for Private Exploitation of Gold Mines," to be promulgated, reserves the title to former owners of the areas.

Former owners and concessionnaires of gold mines and areas not yet under exploitation are obliged to make a written declaration to the local mining departments of their desire to continue operations in mines or to start such operations where the work has not yet been commenced within three months from the date of promulgation of this law.

The absence of such declaration within the specified time will be considered as renunciation of the rights of the former owner or concessionnaires of mines or gold-bearing areas.

For persons residing outside the boundaries of the F. E. R. the time for making the above-mentioned declaration is extended to six months from the date of promulgation of the present law.

4. The owner of a gold mine which was exploited by a lessee, if the former party desires to exploit the mine, has a priority under the present law, but he must compensate the lessee for all improvements made and installed by the latter in the mine.

In case both the lessor and lessee of the mine are unable to agree as to the price to be paid for the improvements, such price will be set according to paragraph 5 of the present law.

In case the owner should refuse to operate his mine according to "Rules for Private Exploitation of Gold Mines" this right is automatically transferred to the lessee of the mine.

5. In case the former owner or the lessee of a mine refuses to continue operations in his mine according to "Rules for Private Exploitation of Gold Mines," and in case the Government shall be desirous of acquiring the improvements and machinery of such mine, the former owner or the lessee must be paid the value of improvements made by them in the mine, according to the valuation of a commission appointed by the local mining department and including representatives of the Department of State Control and representatives of the owner or the lessee of the mine. Exception is made in regard to the buildings and hydraulic installations which pass to the Government of the F. E. R. without compensation.

The commission shall estimate the value of improvements according to their actual value, deducting a suitable amount for depreciation.

The movable property not directly connected with mining operations, or any other property not required by the Government, must be removed by the owner of such property within a year from the date he relinquishes his right of operating the mine. Otherwise such property becomes the property of the Republic without compensation.

6. Gold mining enterprises which have become the property of the state during the revolution may be returned to former owners or lessees for exploitation as a concession by special decrees of the Government of the F. E. R., which will be published in the official organ of the Government.

(Signed) Chairman N. MATVEV, for Government.
PETROV, for Council of Ministers.

Contributors to This Issue

FRANK GODWIN is an American journalist resident in Japan.

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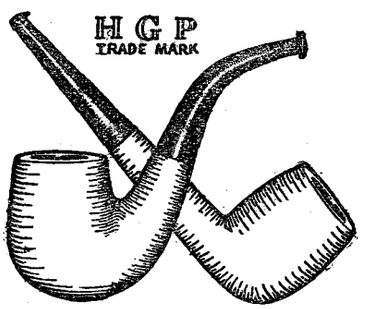

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